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ABSTRACT

Much of this study is devoted to finding out the views, prejudices, and perceptions of the white majority about the black minority in the United States. The survey was taken among a nationwide sample between October 6, and November 8, 1978. It included 1,673 whites and an oversample of 281 Jewish people, with subsamples of 86 Spanish Americans, 450 Catholics, and 843 white Protestants. In addition, a separate nationwide cross-section of 783 blacks was surveyed. The study also deals with issues generated by attempts to impose racial and religious quotas in education and economic life, the "Bakke" decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, and the future of affirmative action. White and black views toward Spanish-Americans are measured and analyzed along with an assessment of their own status from Hispanics themselves. Previous data on anti-Semitism trends are updated. Comparable data were also collected on attitudes toward Catholics. Finally, previous data on attitudes toward women are updated and extended. A copy of the questionnaire is included. (Author/JM)

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Study No. S2829-B

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A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES AND TOWARD WOMEN

Prepared for
The National Conference of
Christians and Jews

November 1978

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A WORD ABOUT THIS STUDY

This study provides an inventory of where America stands in its attitudes toward racial and religious minorities and women late in 1978. Much of the study has been devoted to finding out what are the views, prejudices, and perceptions of the white majority about the black minority in the United States 15 years after the civil rights movement captured the center stage of this country in 1963. This survey has benefited greatly from the landmark study on the movement that the Harris firm conducted for Newsweek magazine in that memorable year. A counterpart study of blacks in 1963 has also been brought up to date in this survey. Additional benchmarks are provided by a 1966 update study for Newsweek and a 1971 survey conducted for Time magazine by the Harris organization, as well as other periodic updates since then by Louis Harris and Associates.

This study also deals in considerable depth with the recent highly controversial issues generated by attempts to impose racial and religious quotas in education and economic life, the Bakke case decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, and the future of affirmative action as an instrument to right the balance of equality in fact under the law.

For the first time, majority white and minority black views toward the minority Spanish-American group are measured and analyzed along with an assessment of their own status from Hispanics themselves. Previous trends on anti-Semitism are updated. A comparable series of questions was also asked about Catholics. Finally, previous baselines on attitudes toward women are updated and extended.

In many respects, a key to this study is the analytic capability provided by measuring what the white Protestant majority thinks about each of the groups specially dealt with. However, equally significant is the opportunity to measure and to analyze the attitudes of minorities and women toward each other. The extent to which the traditional American melting pot process has blurred lines of demarcation or drawn even sharper distinctions is surely one of the important contributions of this study.

The survey itself was taken among a nationwide sample between October 6 and November 8, 1978, including 1,673 whites nationwide, an oversample of 281 Jewish people with subsamples of 86 Spanish-Americans, 450 Catholics, and 843 white Protestants. In addition, a separate nationwide cross-section of 783 blacks was surveyed. All interviewers employed in this survey were indigenous to the groups surveyed -- blacks interviewing blacks, Spanish-speaking interviewing Spanish-speaking, and other comparable match-ups.

The sponsor of the study is the National Conference of Christians and Jews, supported financially by special gifts from organizations and companies including Exxon Corporation, Mobil Oil Corporation, Ford Motor Company, Hoffmann-LaRoche, Inc., Arthur Andersen, Inc., Barnhill-Hayes, and Mutual of Omaha.

AN OVERVIEW

For all of the effort and rhetoric which have been directed toward rooting out prejudice and discrimination of minorities and women in America, this study amply demonstrates that this task is still largely unfinished. Blacks, Hispanics, women, Catholics, and Jews -- the groups dealt with in this study commissioned by the National Conference of Christians and Jews -- all still report experiencing prejudice against them in their daily lives.

At the same time, the readiness of the American people to make new strides forward in reducing and eliminating prejudice against minorities and women emerges from this study as far greater than is widely assumed by those vested with the responsibilities of running the American establishment in the late 1970's. It is not hard to find a common consensus among the people or leaders of this country that prejudice and discrimination are unworthy of this nation. But, if those at the throttle of decision-making proceed under false assumptions, such as that the people are in the midst of a period of intense reaction against decisive steps in the area of prejudice, then the hope for progress will be dim, indeed. It is hoped that this study can provide the country's leadership with facts that will startle many and that in the aggregate deliver a mandate for far more forthright and outspoken leadership on the subject of prejudice and discrimination than has been the case before.

Whether it is blacks in their quest for full equality, particularly in their efforts to achieve equal employment, or women in their efforts

to make an equal contribution to the work life of the country, or Hispanics striving to overcome the handicaps of language and find a way to join the mainstream of life with its ample opportunities, or Catholics who want to find a way to pursue their religious faith without getting stereotyped in the process, or Jews who want to be taken on their merit and not the longstanding characterizations that have given rise to prejudice against them, a single, dominant pattern emerges from this intensive study. That is, in this last quarter of the twentieth century, America is still largely a responsive society, where those who will press their claim to equality will achieve their goal provided they neither give up hope nor give up their persistent and diligent efforts to attain their constitutional rights.

Black and White: Two Worlds Still Apart but Ripe for Change

It is not hard to discern the wide gulf that separates the perceptions of blacks and whites about how it is for blacks in America. Since 1966, there has been virtually no change in the way blacks feel about their likelihood of receiving less pay for the same work as whites, in being discriminated against on the job, in getting a house or apartment at a rental not higher than whites would pay for the same facilities, or in their concern about unemployment generally for blacks and especially among teen-age black young people.

Specifically, 73% of all blacks feel victimized by discrimination in getting promoted into managerial jobs, but only 28% of all whites feel

blacks are discriminated in this area. While 74% of all blacks feel discriminated against in getting white collar jobs, no more than 28% of all whites share this view. Compared with 68% of all blacks who feel discriminated against in obtaining skilled labor jobs, only 22% of all whites hold the same estimate. While 65% of all blacks believe they are discriminated against by local police, only 17% of all whites also think this is the case. A substantial 61% of all blacks feel they are the victims of discrimination in the wages they are paid, but only 16% of all whites also hold that view. Although 58% of all blacks feel discriminated against in obtaining decent housing, no more than 23% of all whites feel this way.

By the same token, dominant black opinion about white-controlled institutions is that they are still marked essentially by a stance of indifference to achieving racial equality. Large and small corporations, banks, labor unions, white Protestant churches, professional schools, and local real estate agencies are particularly singled out as being either indifferent to black aspirations for greater equality or downright opposed to them. Nor are governmental institutions immune from this same suspicion: substantial numbers feel the Congress, the U.S. Supreme Court, the federal government, state government, local government, and local police all are either indifferent or outrightly opposed to giving blacks full equality. By contrast, sizable majorities or pluralities of whites are convinced that government at all levels is committed to furthering black rights. Whites cite the stream of court orders and governmental policy that have commanded them to take steps toward greater integration. Blacks would

like to have government as a strong and powerful ally, but feel that government has been letting them down. Even though blacks gave Jimmy Carter his entire margin of victory in 1976, it is apparent that most blacks feel Carter still has many promises to keep. The efforts by the President suffer by comparison with what blacks think Presidents Kennedy and Johnson did back in the 1960's.

Studies conducted by the Harris firm from 1963 to the present show that a sizable majority of all blacks have always considered full integration as their goal. Today, 66% of all blacks feel that way. While only 35% of all whites share this same goal, it is significant that no more than 16% of all whites favor segregation. Over the past 15 years, the number of whites who would be disturbed at having a black family as a next door neighbor has dropped from 51% to 27%, the number worried over their child bringing home a black child to supper has gone down from 42% to 20%, the number concerned about using the same public restroom as blacks down from 24% to 7%. So, too, the number of whites who feel that blacks are inferior to whites has dropped from 31% to 15% since 1963.

Part of the reason for this change is that white contact with blacks has increased appreciably over the same period: having a black co-worker on the job, up from 32% to 49%; having a black social friend, up from 20% to 40%; having a black neighbor, up from 10% to 16%. Sizable majorities of both blacks and whites report that these personal relationships have been both pleasant and easy, although blacks still report significant tensions with white policemen in their neighborhood and with white welfare workers serving them. But the inescapable conclusion from this study is that the cumulative and increasing contact between whites and blacks

has been, by and large, a positive experience for each race. In the case of race relations, contrary to many undocumented claims, familiarity has not bred contempt.

Blacks and whites disagree quite unexpectedly in another area: in their estimates of black leadership. Whites tend to think that black leaders are about as far ahead of their constituency as they can afford to be. Blacks tend to feel their leaders are just in step with them, but could be getting behind them.

By two quite independent measures, black leaders appear to be in trouble with the rank-and-file of blacks in this country: (1) Where trends exist, there has been a sharp decline in perceived effectiveness of black leaders by blacks themselves -- civil rights leaders, such as those in the NAACP and Urban League, down 14 points in high effectiveness since 1970; elected black officials, down 30 points; black ministers and religious leaders, down 18 points; and even black militant leaders, never very popular, down 9 points; (2) Except in their assessment of the NAACP and Urban League, as well as of black militants, whites hold higher views of black leaders in every other category than blacks do.

In addition, 78% of all black adults say they miss Martin Luther King, Jr., "very deeply." Blacks appear to be convinced that nothing short of leadership such as King's will give them proper stewardship of their cause. By every indication, blacks are in search of effective leaders, for they feel their quest to achieve equality remains unfulfilled. There are few signs among blacks that they have become apathetic or acquiescent through the period of "benign neglect" in the 1970's. They are adamant and more determined to achieve their goal than ever before.

Thus, black alienation has risen throughout the 1970's on every dimension tested: the number who feel "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer," up from 75% to 78% since 1970; "most people with power try to take advantage of people such as yourself," up from 61% to 68%; "few people understand how it is to live like you live," up from 54% to 57%; "the people running the country don't really care what happens to you," up from 52% to 56%; "what you think doesn't count much anymore," up from 44% to 52%; and "you are left out of things going on around you," up from 40% to 41%.

On the front-line issues which face blacks, the races are not far apart on the priority each gives to the need for better black training and education and the lack of equal rights in practice for blacks. While blacks feel that discrimination is a daily fact of life, whites show an uneasy conscience about it.

But there are substantial differences in the estimates the two races give about the biggest problems facing blacks -- and these are all sources of real conflict and tension. Far and away the most serious problem confronting blacks in their view is unemployment, volunteered by 43% of all blacks, compared with no more than 11% of all whites who single this issue out. Beset primarily by inflation, whites are quite oblivious to the depth of joblessness among blacks. Yet another gap area is that of "poor housing," cited by 28% of blacks, but acknowledged by no more than 15% of whites. Other areas of disparity are the problems blacks have in getting promoted to better grade jobs, and the lack of unified black leadership which is not "fighting among themselves."

What emerges is a clear-cut finding that jobs surely must be viewed as the one area where blacks feel most frustrated, most left out in the cold, and where black desperation bids fair to erupt into front-line trouble in the near-term future. The rawest nerve end in the unemployment issue is that of teen-age blacks, with 58% of all blacks reporting that joblessness among black youth is now worse compared to 10 years ago. By contrast, nearly twice as many whites as blacks feel that "blacks are getting a better break in jobs than they did 10 years ago," while nearly twice as many blacks as whites feel that unemployment among young blacks is worse now than it was a decade ago. By any measure, the white attitude about black joblessness is one of vague concern, tempered with some heavy doses of indifference.

Housing is quite a different story. In the case of black housing, while whites do not expect that the largely segregated pattern that exists will change drastically in the near-term future, nonetheless white readiness to accept such change appears to be on the rise. White intractability about living in the same neighborhoods with blacks appears to be on the wane, with the number who would be upset at blacks moving into the areas where they live dropping from 62% to 39% since 1963. Compared with a 40-34% plurality of whites in 1976 who opposed the U.S. Supreme Court decision ordering desegregation of housing in the Chicago suburbs, a 45-35% white plurality now favor that decision.

Education is another area where change toward greater integration appears to be in the offing. Although a narrow 43-42% plurality of blacks oppose the idea of busing and a lopsided 85-9% majority of whites

feel the same, among the 35% of all black families who have had children bused and the 10% of all whites whose children have been bused, the experience of busing turns out to be quite different from the expectation. A sizable majority of 63% of blacks involved in busing say it was very satisfactory, while another 25% say it was partly satisfactory, with only 8% reporting it was unsatisfactory. Among whites whose children have been bused, 56% report it highly satisfactory, 23% partly so, and no more than 16% unsatisfactory. The leading comment of both whites and blacks about the busing experience was "created no problems, no complaints from the children," followed by "children learn to live with each other," and "no fighting or trouble." In the aggregate, these positive reactions vastly outweigh the objections that the busing distance is too far or that there has been trouble, such as "fighting," reported by 8% of the blacks and 9% of the whites. While there are whites who are still emotionally disturbed at the notion of busing for racial balance, the almost automatic claim that "busing is a disaster" simply does not hold in the face of the facts from this study. For their part, blacks also think that through busing to achieve integration, their children are going to better schools, the basic intent of the courts in ordering busing in the first place. Significantly, a 53% majority of whites have convinced themselves that within five years, "most black and white children will be going to school together."

If one also considers the previously reported results about integration of neighborhoods and housing, one could conclude that both whites and blacks appear to be ready for further steps along the path to

integration, to the disappearance of two separate societies. This does not mean that prejudice or bias has disappeared. But it does indicate that if the American people live long enough with a problem, they tend to seek out a reasonable remedy, and have by now become convinced that integration must be made a reality as the country moves into the final two decades of this century.

When the highly controversial Bakke decision of the U.S. Supreme Court was laid out for blacks and whites, it was not surprising to find that, by 77-12%, the vast majority of whites agreed with it, while a 48-29% plurality of blacks opposed it. Blacks are plainly worried that the elimination of quotas under the court decision could be used as an excuse to slow down hiring of blacks and admitting them to higher education. But, by 57-19%, a majority of whites agree with the claim that "with quotas out of the way, the courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing to it that blacks and other minorities have opportunities opened up for them." By 38-35%, a skeptical plurality of blacks disagree with this conclusion. In addition, by 59-21%, a majority of whites feel that "with the quota controversy settled, new business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities to adjust better and become more productive." Blacks barely agree by 40-36%.

Significantly, in the wake of the Bakke decision, by 71-21%, a solid majority of whites are now convinced that "after years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education." Also, by 70-21%, a majority of whites feel that "as long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special

training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job."

Thus, when asked directly about affirmative action programs in industry, a 67-17% majority of whites and a higher 89-5% majority of blacks say they favor such programs for blacks. Even higher majorities of whites favor affirmative action for women, Vietnam veterans, and the physically handicapped. In the case of affirmative action programs in higher education, by 68-15% a majority of whites opt for such programs for blacks, as do a 91-4% majority of blacks.

Before the Bakke case was decided, blacks and whites were headed for a confrontation on the key issue of affirmative action. Yet, in a fascinating way, both whites and blacks now show a remarkable willingness to adapt to the implications of Bakke. Whites now clearly are willing to make a sharp distinction between affirmative action and quotas, coming down strongly in favor of affirmative action. Blacks might be disappointed with the elimination of quotas, but still place real hope in the affirmative action tool.

If one considers the startling fact that overwhelming majorities of both whites and blacks now favor affirmative action, then the role of such programs can become pivotal in achieving racial and religious equality in this country. If the country's institutions would press forward with a widening of affirmative action, instead of the curtailment and cutting back that have been far more characteristic in higher education since Bakke, then the instrument of affirmative action, backed by a court mandate, could presage large-scale gains for blacks, women, and other minorities in the critical jobs and education areas.

Perhaps the most dramatic proof of how white attitudes have changed is reflected in the results of another question, which asked about the pace at which blacks have tried to move. Back in 1966, a 71% majority of all whites felt blacks were trying to move "too fast." By late 1978, this number had shrunk to 37% of all whites. Simply put, much of white antagonism about blacks pressing for greater equality has now begun to disappear.

Contrary to much supposed prevailing wisdom, white attitudes toward blacks and toward real progress for blacks in this country are not more hardened than ever before. It is not an overstatement to conclude that claims that most whites are bristling with resentment about affirmative action for blacks, about blacks moving to improve their lot, all prove to be largely a fairy tale, in the minds of some in the media and in the establishment and, most of all, of some who have posed as social science analysts without any real evidence to go on.

Indeed, the conditions appear to be ripe for blacks to sound the trumpets that have been muted since the days of Martin Luther King, Jr., and to strike out for an acceleration of progress on many fronts: jobs, housing, education, and political representation. White conscience is still capable of being appealed to, and it is patently apparent that whites expect blacks to press for greater equality. Blacks, of course, have long since learned that rhetoric alone will not do the job, nor will whites voluntarily take away the barriers that still block the realization of black equality. Clearly the late 1970's are a time when both blacks and whites are ready for a renewal of black demands for substantive progress.

It is now apparent that much of the establishment leadership over the past 15 years has, in many areas, sorely misread the mood of the country. Most of all, this has been the case with black and white relations. The jobs area is the obvious acid test, where white sensitivities are low and black frustration is high. The offset to this lack of sensitivity among whites could be real leadership in the jobs area taken by government, business, trade unions, and other key establishment institutions.

Perceived Prejudice About Hispanics

In this study, for perhaps the first time on a national cross-section basis, perceptions of Hispanics by the rest of the adult population have been tested. The key facts spell out a portrait of a minority which is struggling hard to get ahead in a most difficult environment.

It is perfectly apparent that the non-Spanish public simply is unaware of the problems Hispanics face. By 62-16%, a big majority of the non-Spanish public deny the extent to which Hispanics have faced discrimination. A plurality also feel that "Spanish-Americans are highly emotional and are apt to fly off the handle." Hispanics are viewed as willing to try hard to get ahead, that they do not ask for much they are not entitled to, that they are deeply religious, and they are trying to learn the English language.

But there is simply a lack of real contact with Hispanics by non-Spanish people and little sense of how they live. Certainly if the media have been deficient, then the lack of real exposure to what life

in the barrios is really like has been a major error of omission. Perhaps Hispanics do tend to turn inward to their own community. Perhaps, as a proud people, they do not take as readily to bringing their case to the non-Spanish community as do other groups.

But, in terms of the dominant white community in America, most of all Hispanics have suffered from being ignored. The irony of it all is that when whites come into contact with members of this minority group, they find the experience highly positive.

Perceived Prejudice About Catholics

The results of this study clearly show that Catholics are widely viewed by non-Catholics in America as part of the mainstream of life in this country, by and large not discriminated against, and for the most part a highly pleasant people to come into contact with.

But some of the seeds of past prejudice against Catholics nonetheless can be found. By 60-27%, a clear majority of non-Catholics deny the charge that "Catholics have suffered discrimination because of their religion," an allegation that can be illustrated many times over in American history. When this denial is coupled with the feeling on the part of a majority of non-Catholics that "Catholics tend to favor their own," and with the better than 1 in every 3 who see Catholics as "narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma," the basis of anti-Catholicism is evident.

Put bluntly, it means that the relatively secure feeling the non-

Catholic public has about Catholics not being discriminated against nor being the victims of prejudice does not hold water. However, it can also be said that compared with the massive problems that still beset the blacks and Hispanics, Catholics face much less discrimination in their daily lives than other minorities and this condition is likely to continue into the future.

Perceived Prejudice About Jews

On the surface, there are many signs that anti-Semitism is on the wane in America today. Only 8% of the American people feel that anti-Jewish sentiment is rising where they live, down from 11% two years ago. A substantial 46% of the non-Jewish population report real contact with Jews and by 82-6%, a sizable majority feel their relationship with Jewish people has been "pleasant and easy." And, by 80-7%, a lopsided majority feel that Jews are not discriminated against.

However, when the survey got down to specific cases, the situation was quite different. The number of non-Jews who feel that "when it comes down to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money" has gone up from 30% to 34% since 1976. Over 1 in 4 feel that "Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive" and that "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America," and 20% feel that "most of the slumlords are Jewish." In short, the number of non-Jews who continue to hold negative stereotypes about Jews has hardly declined.

But there have been dramatic shifts downward in the number of non-Jews who believe in positive stereotypes about Jews. The number who

recognize that "Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries" has declined from 87% to 75% in just two years. The number of non-Jews who feel that "the same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down" has dropped 13 points in two years from 75% to 62%. The number who deny that "Jews have to work harder because they are discriminated against in so many places," has increased from 49% to 55%. And the close 36-30% plurality who two years ago felt that "Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people" has now turned into a 36-39% plurality who just don't think this is the case.

Overt anti-Semitism has not grown, but now non-Jews are far more convinced that Jews have it made than before, and they are not really in much need of having allies in the non-Jewish community to fight anti-Semitism when it might appear. The most serious implication of this finding is that in the event of overt and more subtle forms of anti-Semitism, it is now far less likely that non-Jews would rally to the defense of Jews than was the case just a few years ago. Blacks tend to be more anti-Jewish than any other group. Jewish attitudes toward blacks have also tended to harden. The entire area of black-Jewish relations is one that is still in sore need of attention by organizations who are promoting greater understanding between the races and religions.

Community, Corporate, and Black Leaders Assess the State of Prejudice in the U.S.

All leadership groups surveyed in this study are more aware than the white majority of the public that blacks are discriminated against.

For example, only 28% of whites as a whole feel that blacks are discriminated against in getting promoted into managerial jobs, compared with a much higher 69% of the leaders who feel discrimination does exist in this area. While only 17% of all whites feel that blacks are discriminated against in the treatment accorded them by local police, a much higher 64% of the leaders feel blacks are discriminated against. While only 27% of all whites feel that blacks are discriminated against in getting white collar jobs, a much higher 62% of the leaders feel this way. Compared with only 22% of whites who think blacks are the victims of discrimination in getting skilled jobs, a high 67% of all the leaders feel that they are.

These results indicate that if they responded to their own perceptions of the way blacks are treated, the leaders, both black and white, would be accelerating the pace of black progress. But a far more important obstacle stands in the way of leadership action: the leaders perceive that the country is in a period of severe regression on race relations, and, therefore, it is a time for tempered speed and high caution.

For example, while only 37% of the whites feel that blacks have tried to move "too fast," fully 61% of the leaders feel most Americans think that blacks have moved too fast. And, most of all, black leaders read the mood of the dominant white majority as far more hostile than either the white leaders or the rank-and-file of whites indicate in this survey. For instance, 77% of national black leaders feel that most Americans think that blacks have moved too fast. And 64% of national black leaders feel that anti-black sentiment is on the rise in America, compared with no more than 19% of all community leaders and 16% of corporate leaders

who share this view. Black leaders appear to have reached a massive conclusion that it would be fruitless to have special demonstrations and protests by blacks. They seem to fear that there would be a severe backlash by whites in the event of such overt street activity. On the basic tactic which blacks should pursue in this period, most blacks think that non-violent but visible protest should be the order of the day. Black leaders oppose such a tactic.

In addition, when asked to volunteer what they feel are the major problems facing blacks today, black leaders put better education in first place, followed by lack of jobs, volunteered by 34%. The black public puts the order exactly the reverse, with 43% citing unemployment and 30% better education and training. Bluntly put, black leadership underestimates the deeply felt anguish of blacks about the lack of job opportunities and the toll of unemployment among their own people. Even on the subject of full integration, only 45% of black leaders feel most blacks favor it, but, in fact, a much higher 66% of the black public want full integration. Indeed, in assessing the effectiveness of elected black officials, 55% of the national black leaders feel they are highly effective, but a much lower 41% of all blacks share this view. The rank and file of blacks is desperately looking for another Martin Luther King, Jr., and they will not rest easy until they have found such leadership.

If black leadership has seriously misassessed the dominant mood and sentiment of their own rank and file, then quite another leadership group -- the corporate community -- appears to be the odd man out in its judgment of the contributions of key institutions in society to black progress. For example, 63% of the businessmen feel corporations have been

"really interested" in seeing blacks achieve full equality, but actually only 35% of the rest of the community leaders share this view and a much lower 14% of national black leaders feel that way. Much the same pattern exists in the leaders' assessment of newspapers' role in working for black progress, and a similar pattern is evident in the case of colleges and universities. If the corporate leadership is correct in its estimate and the other leaders are wrong, then corporate leadership is leaving itself open to be hit from the blind side when and if blacks take up their protests and tactics of pressure in the months and years ahead.

However, just as the leadership group as a whole is more aware of discrimination against blacks, so the leaders favor affirmative action programs for blacks in industry by 86-9% and by 80-11% in higher education. Comparable majorities feel the same about women, the physically handicapped, and Hispanics. It is also significant that community leaders favor the decision to integrate housing in Chicago by 58-35%, a view shared by corporate leaders by 57-32%.

Leaders also tend to be more in favor of alleviating discrimination against women, Hispanics, Catholics, and Jews. Although the leaders reflect to a degree the same ambivalences toward Catholics and Jews as the public, nonetheless the leaders as a group are far more willing to assume responsibility for eliminating prejudice in America. But as this study suggests, the leaders are not likely to carry out their responsibility until they are aware of just where their own constituents stand. Up to now, the leaders may have underestimated the continuing determination of the American public in the last two decades of this century to make real progress in eliminating the scourge, pain, and cost of discrimination in this country.

CHAPTER I:

BLACKS AND WHITES:

A GENERATION AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF THE 1960'S

The Gulf That Still Separates Blacks From Whites

As the decade of the 1970's begins to draw to a close, the litany of black complaints about the basics of life is hardly diminished:

-- By 47-44%, a plurality of blacks nationwide report that "if they
B-4b did the same work as whites," they would receive less pay for the same job, scarcely changed from an almost identical 46-43% plurality who felt the same way in 1966. In the South, an even higher 54-39% majority feel they would receive less pay than whites for comparable jobs.

-- Thirty-nine percent of all blacks report having been
B-4d "discriminated against in trying to get ahead on the job," up sharply from 18% in 1966. While this result undoubtedly reflects the widened job opportunities blacks have had in the past decade, it also points up the real difficulties of blacks to "get up from the bottom of the heap" once they are hired.

B-5a -- By 45-40%, a plurality of all blacks report they would have to pay more rent than a white person to "get a house or apartment the same as a white person," unchanged from the 44-39% plurality who felt identically in 1966, 12 years earlier.

-- A high 70% of all blacks nationwide feel that unemployment
B-7a among black people is greater than that among whites. This result is ironic for only two years before, in 1976, when the national unemployment rate was higher than in 1978, a lower 55% of all blacks then felt that unemployment was higher for blacks than whites. The clear implication is that the decline in overall joblessness has helped the whites, but has also widened the disparity between blacks and whites on the rolls of the

jobless. In addition, 58% of all blacks feel that unemployment among
B-7b young blacks 17 to 21 years of age is "more of a problem now than it was
B-7d 10 years ago." Thus, a 58-30% majority of blacks report that most black youths they know "feel bitter toward the white-dominated world they live in."

-- As a kind of bottom-line reading, blacks feel they are
B-14 discriminated against in most vital parts of their everyday lives. A substantial 74% believe they are discriminated against in getting white collar jobs, not down much from a comparable 82% who felt that way earlier in the decade in 1971. Almost as many, 73%, feel blacks are discriminated against in getting promoted into managerial jobs. And 68% feel they are victims of discrimination in getting skilled labor jobs, down 11 points from 1971 but up 4 points from 1976. A substantial 65% feel discriminated against in the way they are treated by the local police. A majority of 61% see themselves as victims of discrimination in the wages they are paid, down by 9 points from 1971 but up 7 points from 1976. Most blacks, 58%, feel discriminated against in getting "decent housing," down 12 points since 1971 but up 1 point from 1976. By 49-30%, a plurality of blacks feel they are discriminated against in the way they are treated on welfare, only slightly better than the 56-21% majority who felt the same back in 1971. By 43-33%, a plurality of blacks feel discriminated against in the way their children are treated by white teachers, a 10-point improvement from 1971 but a 4-point slippage from 1976.

In two areas, pluralities or majorities of blacks do not feel discriminated against. By 50-44%, most blacks do not feel discriminated

against in getting a quality education, a turnaround from the 57-33% majority who felt they were, back in 1971. By 56-37%, a majority of blacks nationwide no longer feel discriminated against in getting unskilled labor jobs, an improvement over a comparable 49-42% plurality who felt the same in 1971. A stand-off of 39-39% among all blacks exists on the issue of being discriminated against by labor unions, a marked improvement from the 54-21% majority who felt they were victims of trade union discrimination back in 1971.

However, if fewer blacks today feel discriminated against than in 1971, the gulf between blacks and whites on this subject is still enormous in 1978:

-- While 73% of blacks feel victimized by discrimination in getting promoted into managerial jobs, only 28% of all whites share this feeling.

-- Compared with 74% of blacks who feel discriminated against in getting white collar jobs, no more than 28% of whites feel blacks are discriminated against in this area.

-- A sizable 68% of blacks feel discriminated against in getting skilled labor jobs, but only 22% of whites agree with this assessment.

-- While 65% of all blacks believe they are discriminated against in the treatment accorded them by local police, a small minority of 17% of whites agree.

-- Compared with 61% of blacks who feel they are victims of discrimination in the wages they are paid, only 16% of all whites share this estimate.

-- Although 58% of all blacks feel discriminated against in getting decent housing, no more than 23% of whites feel this is the case.

-- Comparable disparities can be found between white and black estimates of discrimination against blacks: the way they are treated on welfare (blacks: 49%, whites: 7%); the way black children are treated by white teachers (blacks: 43%, whites: 7%); in blacks getting a quality education (blacks: 44%, whites: 8%); blacks getting into labor unions (blacks: 39%, whites: 10%); in blacks getting unskilled labor jobs (blacks: 37%, whites: 7%).

Observation:

There is little doubt that most blacks in 1978 still feel their status is very much at a second-class level. By the same token, whites see much of the former discrimination now so alleviated that it is well on the way to being wiped out. The two groups -- black and white -- may feel they are observing the same phenomenon, the status of discrimination against blacks. But, in the case of blacks, they are talking about the daily consequences in their own lives of less than equal treatment, while whites are dealing with their own behavior and that of the society they dominate in how it does or does not give blacks a fair chance. For blacks, the pain of discrimination can be highly personal and costly. For whites, their major source of pain in this process can be a guilty conscience. In this uneven process, felt discrimination can be consuming. For whites, the way to ease a potentially gnawing conscience is to see the progress, rationalizing how much worse things could have been for blacks had the past 15 years not been lived through.

Blacks and Whites Assess White Institutions on the Issue of Racial Equality

Despite the obvious gulfs that still separate the races in assessing progress toward equality for blacks, blacks feel that more white

institutions are now demonstrating more real interest in seeing blacks achieve full equality than was the case earlier in this decade:

B-9a -- Thirty-nine percent of all blacks now feel that the federal government is genuinely interested in their equality, compared with a much lower 20% back in 1971. This difference can be traced to the expressed concern of President Carter which stands in sharp contrast to the policy of "benign neglect" which was widely viewed as the posture of President Nixon.

-- Twenty-seven percent of blacks credit their state government with real interest in progress for blacks, up from 20% in 1971.

-- Twenty-seven percent of blacks also feel that their local government is dedicated to equal rights, up from 23% who felt that way seven years ago.

-- Thirty-one percent believe that Congress is genuinely interested in equal rights for blacks, unchanged from 30% in 1971.

-- In the private sector, 35% of blacks nationwide feel that newspapers are really interested in full equality, up from 27% who felt the same back in 1971.

-- Twenty-nine percent of the blacks believe that large corporations are demonstrating a genuine interest in their lot, up from 22% earlier in the decade.

-- Twenty-three percent feel that small local companies are really interested in racial equality for blacks, up from 17% in 1971.

-- Eighteen percent of all blacks credit local real estate companies with a real interest in their quest for full equality, up from a low 14% in 1971.

But blacks do not view the relative movement of white institutional concern for them as uniformly increasing. Some slippage has also been noted:

-- While 43% of all blacks feel that television really cares about their status, in 1971 a higher 48% felt that way, a drop of 5 points.

-- The number of blacks who believe that white Protestant churches are genuinely committed to full racial equality has slipped from 16% to 12% over the past seven years.

-- The one governmental institution to show a decline in black estimates of working for racial progress is the U.S. Supreme Court, with 35% feeling the high court really cares, down from 39% in 1971.

-- Black feeling about the extent to which local police are committed to full equality for blacks has remained a constant 21% since 1971.

Although these latest 1978 results show a balance of black opinion indicating positive gains, it must be pointed out that pluralities or majorities of blacks characterize the attitudes of almost all dominant white institutions toward their lot as either indifference or downright opposition to blacks achieving full equality. By 55-29%, blacks feel this way about large companies, by 61-23% about small local companies, by 55-31% about banks, by 47-33% about labor unions, by 65-12% about white Protestant churches, by 42-28% about the Catholic church, by 45-18% about Jewish groups, by 51-36% about professional schools, by 66-18% about local real estate companies, by 47-43% about television, and by 56-29% about newspapers.

The same pattern of changing indifference or outright opposition to equal rights for blacks emerges for most public sector institutions

in the view of pluralities and majorities of blacks: by 53-31% they feel that way about Congress, by 50-35% about the U.S. Supreme Court, by 49-39% about the federal government, by 59-27% about state government, by 62-27% about local government, and by 67-21% about local police.

In the case of only 2 out of 20 institutions do blacks estimate a real interest in full equality for blacks: by a narrow 44-43% they feel that way about colleges and universities, and by 52-35% about the U.S. Army. By 33-29%, a plurality of blacks feel that interfaith organizations, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, are indifferent or downright hostile to full equality for blacks. The only exception is in the Midwest, where by 39-36%, a small plurality feel that genuine concern exists.

The perceptions of institutional sensitivity to black aspirations vary widely when blacks are compared with whites and white minority groups, as the following table indicates:

B-9a
A-9a

PERCEIVED ROLES OF MAJOR INSTITUTIONS
IN RECOGNIZING BLACK ASPIRATIONS FOR FULL EQUALITY

Q.: For each of the following groups and organizations, would you tell me if you feel it has been really interested in seeing blacks achieve full equality in the U.S., has been indifferent to black equality, or has tried to prevent blacks from achieving full equality.

	Total Black			Total White					Gap: Black vs. White
	Nation-wide %	South %	Non-South %	Nation-wide %	Women %	Spanish-American %	Catholic %	Jewish %	%
The U.S. Army									
Really interested	32	36	49	73	74	66	70	67	-21
Indifferent	26	22	29	17	14	20	18	17	+9
Tries to prevent equality	9	8	10	1	1	4	2	3	+8
Not sure	13	14	12	9	11	10	10	13	+4
Universities and Colleges									
Really interested	44	43	44	72	73	39	73	71	-28
Indifferent	30	30	30	18	15	29	19	16	+12
Tries to prevent equality	13	10	15	2	2	4	2	7	+11
Not sure	13	15	11	8	10	8	6	6	+5
Television									
Really interested	43	42	44	74	76	9	71	62	-31
Indifferent	35	35	35	19	15	21	20	28	+16
Tries to prevent equality	12	11	13	2	2	9	2	3	+10
Not sure	10	12	8	5	7	11	7	7	+5
Federal Government									
Really interested	39	40	39	71	69	61	67	67	-32
Indifferent	37	35	38	19	19	21	22	23	+18
Tries to prevent equality	12	11	13	2	2	7	4	2	+10
Not sure	12	14	10	8	10	11	7	8	+4
Professional Schools									
Really interested	36	37	34	62	64	46	61	62	-26
Indifferent	35	34	36	23	19	33	26	17	+12
Tries to prevent equality	16	12	20	4	4	6	3	12	+12
Not sure	13	17	10	11	13	15	10	9	+2
The U.S. Supreme Court									
Really interested	35	37	33	63	60	49	58	68	-28
Indifferent	35	32	38	21	20	24	24	21	+14
Tries to prevent equality	15	14	15	3	3	10	6	3	+12
Not sure	15	17	14	13	17	17	12	8	+2
Labor Unions									
Really interested	33	34	32	44	44	38	45	28	-11
Indifferent	31	28	33	28	23	30	30	32	+3
Tries to prevent equality	16	12	19	6	6	9	7	15	+10
Not sure	20	26	16	22	27	23	18	25	-2
Banks									
Really interested	31	31	31	40	42	27	38	37	-9
Indifferent	39	39	39	35	32	36	36	42	+4
Tries to prevent equality	16	13	19	6	5	14	8	9	+10
Not sure	14	17	11	19	21	23	18	12	-5
U.S. Congress									
Really interested	31	31	30	58	58	44	55	57	-27
Indifferent	38	34	41	27	25	23	30	27	+11
Tries to prevent equality	15	16	15	4	3	16	6	5	+11
Not sure	16	19	14	11	14	17	9	11	+5
Newspapers									
Really interested	29	23	34	55	55	44	53	48	-26
Indifferent	42	41	43	31	28	34	35	37	+11
Tries to prevent equality	14	17	12	3	3	8	4	5	+11
Not sure	15	19	11	11	14	14	8	10	+4

(continued)

3-9a
4-4a

PERCEIVED ROLES OF MAJOR INSTITUTIONS
IN RECOGNIZING BLACK ASPIRATIONS FOR FULL EQUALITY
(Continued)

	Total Black			Total White					Gap: Black vs. White
	Nation-wide	South	Non-South	Nation-wide	Women	Spanish-American	Catholic	Jewish	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Interfaith Organizations									
Really interested	29	21	35	43	45	30	44	70	-14
Indifferent	26	24	28	21	18	27	25	15	+5
Tries to prevent equality	7	7	8	4	3	8	4	2	+3
Not sure	38	48	29	32	34	35	27	13	+6
Large Corporations									
Really interested	29	26	31	41	38	27	38	34	-12
Indifferent	38	38	38	41	41	43	42	45	-3
Tries to prevent equality	17	17	18	7	7	16	9	12	+10
Not sure	16	19	13	11	14	14	11	9	+5
The Catholic Church									
Really interested	28	24	31	39	40	52	55	25	-11
Indifferent	32	30	33	27	24	31	31	31	+5
Tries to prevent equality	10	9	12	4	4	5	3	8	+6
Not sure	30	37	24	30	32	12	11	36	-
State Government									
Really interested	27	27	28	58	58	46	59	59	-31
Indifferent	44	41	47	29	27	31	28	29	+15
Tries to prevent equality	15	17	13	3	3	10	4	3	+12
Not sure	14	15	12	10	12	13	9	9	+4
Local Government									
Really interested	27	23	30	48	49	51	50	51	-21
Indifferent	43	46	42	36	32	31	36	33	+7
Tries to prevent equality	18	18	17	5	5	5	5	6	+13
Not sure	12	13	11	11	14	13	9	10	+1
Small Local Companies									
Really interested	23	21	24	26	26	20	24	21	-3
Indifferent	42	45	40	45	42	51	47	48	-3
Tries to prevent equality	19	17	21	11	11	10	13	15	+8
Not sure	16	17	16	18	21	19	16	16	-2
Local Police									
Really interested	21	25	18	36	37	40	36	24	-15
Indifferent	38	35	40	38	33	36	41	41	-
Tries to prevent equality	29	25	32	9	9	9	8	16	+20
Not sure	12	15	10	17	21	15	15	19	-5
Local Real Estate Companies									
Really interested	18	17	19	25	25	16	25	25	-7
Indifferent	37	37	37	38	33	44	39	33	-1
Tries to prevent equality	29	24	33	18	18	17	18	28	+11
Not sure	16	22	11	19	24	23	18	14	-3
Jewish Groups									
Really interested	18	13	21	23	24	19	25	50	-5
Indifferent	32	29	35	29	24	31	34	30	+3
Tries to prevent equality	13	11	14	7	6	13	9	4	+6
Not sure	37	47	30	41	46	35	33	16	-4
White Protestant Churches									
Really interested	12	10	14	33	34	21	28	17	-21
Indifferent	40	35	43	34	29	33	34	32	+6
Tries to prevent equality	24	26	23	11	13	15	11	19	+13
Not sure	24	29	20	22	24	31	27	32	+2

There are several striking findings here:

-- The biggest gaps between black and white assessments are to be found in what government at nearly every level feels about achieving full equality for blacks. Sizable majorities or pluralities of whites are convinced that the federal, state, and local governments, as well as the U.S. Supreme Court and the U.S. Army, are all dedicated to furthering black rights. The reason is not hard to discover: whites are well aware that court orders are carried out by the executive branches of government and, in a vast majority of cases, government orders are directed toward whites to comply. Blacks see it differently in each case, feeling that government is an indispensable ally for them in their struggle to achieve equality and that government has been letting them down.

To a large degree, this sizable disparity between black and white views can be traced to particularly acute black memories of the federal government's efforts under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. A 58% majority of blacks feel that both Kennedy and Johnson helped blacks
B-8a "a great deal," compared with only 2% who feel the same about Presidents
B-8b
B-8c Nixon and Ford, and only 13% who give President Carter high marks on the same score. Even though blacks gave Jimmy Carter his entire margin of victory in 1976, it is apparent that most blacks in America feel Carter
W-8 has many promises yet to keep. A lower 43% of all whites credit Kennedy and Johnson with helping blacks, compared to 18% who say the same about Nixon and Ford and 28% who say the same about Carter.

-- Other sizable gaps between blacks and whites exist in the role of colleges and universities and professional schools. Again, whites

feel that higher education has led the way in opening up opportunities for blacks. But blacks themselves are less sanguine about it, despite the fact that higher education is perceived as being among the top five institutions in really being interested in full equality for the races. Whites think the job is being done at colleges and universities, while blacks feel there is still much room for improvement, especially in professional schools.

-- Television and newspapers find themselves in a comparable situation. Relatively well regarded by blacks, clear majorities of whites feel the media have been sensitive to black aspirations. Again, however, blacks think the job is only partially accomplished, that more needs to be done.

-- For a significant number of white dominated institutions, however, blacks and whites are more in agreement than disagreement -- and all are on the negative side of the ledger. This is the case with large companies, banks, and small local companies in the business sector. It is the case with white Protestant churches and Jewish groups. The Catholic church rates much higher on racial equality among both blacks and whites.

-- Local police are not felt by either whites or blacks to be really interested in blacks achieving full equality. Local real estate companies are particularly suspect by both races in their attitudes toward blacks.

Observation:

In both races assessing the role of essentially white dominated institutions, two new and more subtle facts are added to the fabric of race relations as the 1970's begin to draw to a close. First, for over a third of the institutions asked about, white perception of these institutions' efforts to help blacks achieve full equality parallels that of blacks. In the case of large companies, small local companies, banks, local real estate companies, local police, white Protestant churches, the Catholic church, and Jewish groups, blacks and whites agree that they have been indifferent to or have tried to prevent the drive for equality.

A second significant fact is that, among blacks, the response category that has changed the most in areas where trends may be seen is not that of trying to prevent black equality. Instead, the most sizable changes have taken place in the "indifferent" category. The shattering silence from the white community in the judgment of blacks is psychologically devastating. "Simply not to care if progress is being made" is now the major impression blacks have about white dominated institutions. Certainly one of the real marks of progress blacks felt about the 1960's was that even if 300 years of prejudice and discrimination would not be wiped out overnight, at least their plight and their aspirations for full equality had achieved major attention. Now, more often than not, blacks have come to feel that "benign neglect" is not simply a white strategy but has become a reality ingrained in the white mentality. Yet, as other results of this study will show, any white assumptions that "benign neglect" will either work or be accepted by blacks or even whites will simply not be found to be grounded in the reality of race relations as it is now emerging.

Some Significant Shifts in White Attitudes Toward Blacks

B-10
W-10a

A substantial 66% of all blacks in the country want "full racial integration," another 22% want integration in "some areas" and only 7% favor a "separation of the races." Among whites, 35% want "full racial integration," 42% integration in "some areas," and 16% favor "separation of the races." While they differ in degree, it is significant that sizable majorities of both whites and blacks oppose segregation.

It is not hard to turn up just where whites still draw the line
W-10b on full integration: by 79-16% they would be concerned if their "teenage child dates a black," and by 60-36% they would be concerned if "a close friend or relative marries a black." But even in these areas and in all others tested in this survey, there have been dramatic changes in white attitudes since 1963:

W-10b

WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD SITUATIONS WITH BLACKS (1963-1978)

Q.: For each item, please tell me, as far as your personal feelings go, whether you would be personally concerned or not if that situation happened.

	Change In "Concern" '78 vs. '63	1978			1963		
		Concerned	Not Concerned	Not Sure	Concerned	Not Concerned	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Your teenage child dates a black	-11	79	16	5	90	7	3
A close friend or relative marries a black	-24	60	36	4	84	12	4
A black family moves in next door to you	-24	27	68	5	51	41	8
Your child brings a black child home for supper	-22	20	76	4	42	51	7
A black tries on the same suit of clothes (dress) before you do in a clothing store	-18	14	82	4	32	61	7
A black person is your supervisor at work	X	10	87	3	X	X	X
A black teacher teaches your child in school	X	7	91	2	X	X	X
A black uses the same public restroom as you	-17	7	92	1	24	73	3
A black sits next to you on a bus	-14	6	93	1	20	79	1
A black sits down next to you at a lunch counter	-14	6	93	1	20	78	2

X = not asked in 1963.

The biggest shifts downward in white aversion arise if "a black family moves in next door to you" (24 points down), "a close friend or relative marries a black" (24 points down), "your child brings a black child home for supper" (22 points down), and "a black tries on the same suit of clothes (or dress) before you do in a clothing store" (down 18 points).

Yet another area of change in white attitudes toward blacks can be observed in white stereotyping of blacks:

W-14b. TREND IN WHITE STEREOTYPES OF BLACKS

(1963-1978)

Q.: Now let me ask you some questions about blacks as people, leaving aside the whole question of civil rights and laws. I'd like to know how you feel as an individual. Here are some statements people sometimes make about black people. For each statement, please tell me whether you personally tend to agree or disagree with that statement.

	Agree With Description of Blacks:						Change In "Agree" 1978 vs. 1963
	1978 %	1976 %	1971 %	1967 %	1966 %	1963 %	%
Blacks tend to have less ambition than whites	49	50	52	70	65	66	-17
Blacks want to live off the handout	36	37	39	52	43	41	- 5
Blacks are more violent than whites	34	35	36	42	X	X	- 8*
Blacks breed crime	29	31	27	32	33	35	- 6
Blacks have less native intelligence than whites	25	28	37	46	36	39	-14
Blacks care less for the family than whites	18	22	26	34	33	31	-13
Blacks are inferior to white people	15	15	22	29	26	31	-16

*Compared with 1967.
X=Not asked.

While a substantial white minority still hold views of blacks that fit the most negative stereotypes, the decline of such an image of blacks has been steady over the past 11 years. White negative stereotypes of blacks reached their peak in late 1967 as race rioting broke out in major cities across the country.

Observation:

As the years have passed, white attitudes about blacks have grown more positive. The negative worries about contact between the races have clearly declined.

Part of the reason can be traced to increased contact and communication between blacks and whites, as the following table indicates:

B-15a
W-15a

PATTERNS OF INTERRACIAL EXPOSURE AND CONTACT

(1970-1978)

Q.: Do you or does any member of your immediate family now have contact or not with a white/black person who is...

	Blacks			Whites		
	Have Contact With Whites:			Have Contact With Blacks:		
	1978 %	1970 %	Change %	1978 %	1970 %	Change %
Type of Contact:						
A co-worker at work	66	59	+ 7	49	32	+17
A salesperson in a local store	68	X	X	42	X	X
A friend socially	49	39	+10	40	20	+20
An employer or supervisor at work	67	68	- 1	25	6	+19
A teacher or principal in a school	53	49	+ 4	18	X	X
A neighbor	38	29	+ 9	16	10	+ 6
A policeman in the neighborhood	32	24	+ 8	15	X	X
The owner or manager of a retail store	56	47	+ 9	12	X	X
Someone working for you	10	7	+ 3	12	15	- 3
An officer of a union	26	21	+ 5	7	X	X
A welfare social worker serving you	22	16	+ 6	2	X	X

X = Not asked in 1970.

The key areas of contact are at work, in retail stores, but also socially as neighbors and friends. Significantly, the increases for whites are greater than for blacks. The reason is not hard to find: blacks have always lived in a white world, where whites have always been visible. But, during this decade, blacks have become far more visible to whites, in many cases for the first time. In short, white awareness of blacks has gone up sharply, particularly at work and on a one-to-one interpersonal basis.

And when asked how the contact with the other race has gone, 9 out of 10 whites uniformly report it has been "pleasant and easy." A somewhat lower two-thirds to three-quarters of all blacks report a similar positive experience in their contact with whites. And, almost without exception, blacks have found the contact experience more gratifying in 1978 than in 1970. These satisfactions with interracial contact are shown in the following table:

B-15b
W-15b

SATISFACTION WITH CONTACT WITH OTHER RACE

Q.: Do you feel that the relationship with this white/black person, with whom you have had some contact, is generally pleasant and easy, or is there sometimes trouble due to the difference in race?

	Blacks						Whites		
		1978			1970			1978	
	Change 1970-1978	Pleasant and Easy	Sometimes Trouble	Not Sure	Pleasant and Easy	Sometimes Trouble	Not Sure	Pleasant and Easy	Sometimes Trouble	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Type of Contact:										
A friend socially	+ 4	92	5	3	88	9	3	99	1	-
A neighbor	+ 5	86	9	5	81	13	6	93	4	3
A salesperson in a local store	X	81	17	2	X	X	X	97	3	*
The owner or manager of a retail store	+ 4	81	16	3	77	19	4	98	1	1
Someone working for you	+12	80	12	8	68	21	11	91	9	*
A co-worker at work	+10	79	19	2	69	26	5	90	8	2
An officer of a union	+ 2	76	18	6	74	17	9	94	3	3
An employer or supervisor at work	+ 8	74	23	3	66	27	7	90	9	1
A teacher or principal at school	+ 6	73	22	5	67	28	5	94	4	2
A policeman in the neighborhood	+ 9	68	24	8	59	30	11	93	4	3
A welfare social worker serving you	- 9	61	33	6	70	26	4	95	5	-

*Less than 0.5%.
X-Not asked in 1970.

The inescapable conclusion from these results is that the cumulative and increasing contact between whites and blacks has been by and large a positive experience for each race and undoubtedly has contributed to a decline rather than an exacerbation of tensions. Fear of the unknown has long been recognized as a major cause of tension and hostility. In the case of race relations, contrary to many undocumented claims, familiarity has not bred contempt.

Blacks and Whites Assess Black Leadership Today

W-11 When whites are asked about black leaders and organizations, although 39% say they are "right with their people," a substantial 38% say they are "ahead of their people" and only 8% feel they are "behind" their followers. The clear implication is that black leaders are prone to ask for more than the rank and file of blacks are striving to achieve. In other words, black leaders, according to many whites, are trying to arouse a somewhat lethargic black mass who are willing to exist in a white dominated society that has followed a rather indifferent approach to black problems.

But when blacks are asked the identical question, the results

B-11a are strikingly different:

B-11a
W-11 BLACK LEADERS' RELATION TO THEIR FOLLOWERS

Q.: Do you feel that the black civil rights leaders and organizations are ahead of their people, behind their people, or right with them?

	Blacks		Whites
	1978	1966	1978
Black Leaders Are:	%	%	%
Ahead of their people	17	15	38
Behind their people	22	4	8
Right with them	49	52	39
Not sure	12	28	15

Although the center of gravity among blacks is that most black leaders are "right with their people," it is significant that a higher 22% feel they are "behind" them than the 17% who think they are "ahead" of them. Back in 1966, blacks were more inclined to think their leaders were "right with" their people or "slightly ahead" of them.

Observation:

Blacks and whites have quite different views of black leadership. Whites tend to think black leaders are about as far out ahead of their constituency as they can afford to be. Blacks tend to feel their leaders are just in step with their followers but could be getting behind them. One clue to black sentiment about their leadership can be found in the decline in perceived effectiveness of many different types of black leaders.

The following table spells out a serious problem for the current crop of black leaders in this country:

B-12
W-12

BLACKS AND WHITES ASSESS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BLACK LEADERS

Q.: In the long run, how effective do you feel each of the following kinds of black leaders will be in helping blacks achieve equality in this country -- very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective at all?

	Blacks									Whites			
	1978				1970				Change from 1970	1978			
	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective At All	Not Sure	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective At All	Not Sure	Very Effective	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective At All	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Civil rights leaders like those in NAACP and Urban League	53	40	3	4	67	25	5	3	-14	35	50	6	9
Black sports stars and entertainers	45	38	8	9	X	X	X	X	X	56	32	7	5
Elected black officials like Congressmen, Senators, and Mayors	41	49	5	5	71	23	2	4	-30	44	46	5	5
Black ministers and religious leaders	38	49	7	6	56	29	10	5	-18	44	46	4	6
Black professionals such as doctors and lawyers	38	43	11	8	X	X	X	X	X	47	39	7	7
Black businessmen	32	50	10	8	X	X	X	X	X	41	44	7	8
Black political party leaders	32	49	8	11	X	X	X	X	X	36	49	7	8
Leaders of black militant groups	20	36	31	13	29	29	31	11	- 9	13	29	48	10

X=Not asked in 1970.

By two quite independent measures, black leaders in every category tested appear to be in trouble: (1) Where trends exist, there has been a sharp decline in perceived effectiveness of black leaders by blacks themselves -- civil rights leaders, such as the NAACP and Urban League, down 14 points in high effectiveness since 1970; elected black officials, down 30 points; black ministers and religious leaders, down 18 points; and even black militant leaders, never very popular, down 9 points; (2) Except in the case of the NAACP and Urban League, as well as black militants, whites hold higher views of every other category than blacks give their own leaders.

For most blacks, their most effective and martyred leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., still is a part of their lives. An overwhelming
B-11c
78% of all black adults in the country say they miss Martin Luther King "very deeply." His memory is still a powerful part of the lives of close to 8 in 10 blacks in America of all classes and types ten years after he was assassinated.

Observation:

It is possible, of course, that among blacks, black leaders over the past ten years have been compared with the martyred Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. To some extent, the same phenomenon turns up when the past eight presidents are compared and the martyred John F. Kennedy runs off with most public estimates.

By the same token, however, it is also possible that blacks are convinced that nothing short of leadership such as King's will give them proper stewardship of their cause. By every indication, blacks are in search of effective leaders, for they feel their quest to achieve equality remains unfulfilled. The highest irony is that whites now view black leaders as more effective than do blacks themselves. These results should put to rest any notion that in the decade of the 1970's blacks

have become apathetic and even acquiescent in an era of "benign neglect." To the contrary, as will be seen, blacks are every bit as adamant and even more to achieve their goal of full equality in America.

Alienation

It should come as no surprise that, compared to 1970, black alienation is up on every item tested and runs above that for whites as a whole today on nearly every count:

B-13
W-13

ALIENATION TREND AMONG BLACKS
AND BLACKS COMPARED WITH WHITES

Q.: These are some things people have told us they have felt from time to time. Do you tend to feel or not that...

"Feel:"	Black Change Since 1970 %	Total Blacks 1978 %	Total Blacks 1970 %	Total Whites 1978 %
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	+3	78	75	72
Most people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself	+7	68	61	52
Few people understand how it is to live like you live	+3	57	54	30
The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	+4	56	52	53
What you think doesn't count much anymore	+8	52	44	54
You're left out of things going on around you	+1	41	40	26

The Front-Line Issues

By definition, the issues which make up the front line of black-white race relations are not simply what blacks perceive as the biggest problems they are facing, on the one hand, nor what whites believe are the problems facing blacks, on the other. Instead, the real issues can be determined by comparing the perceptions of both races of how and what each assesses the issues to be. Where there is agreement on the issues, these areas could well be candidates for early action to resolve them. Where there is disagreement, these issues are likely to be the sources of tension and even ultimate confrontation.

Both samples of blacks and whites were asked in this survey to voluntarily cite the two or three biggest problems facing black people that something should be done about:

BIGGEST PROBLEMS FACING BLACKS AS PERCEIVED BY BLACKS AND WHITES

Q.: As far as you personally are concerned, what do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing black people that something should be done about?

	Total Black %	Total White %	Gap: Black VS. White %
Unemployment	43	11	+32
Better job training, education	30	26	+4
Poor housing	28	15	+13
Discrimination, prejudice, lack of equal rights	20	16	+4
Getting promoted to better grade jobs	18	6	+12
Job discrimination	14	4	+10
Lack of leadership, unity; fight among themselves	8	2	+6
Crime, vandalism, drugs	7	3	+4
Need improved services	5	1	+4
Low self-esteem	5	8	-3
Lack of chance to upgrade their lives	5	4	+1
Need more government help	3	*	+3
Give people on welfare job training	3	2	+1
Can't live anywhere they want	2	4	-2
Youth unemployment	2	1	+1
Better family planning, birth control	*	2	-2
Should register and vote more	2	*	+2
Too much welfare	1	7	-6
Busing problems for children	1	2	-1
Expect too much in form of handout	*	9	-9
Have a chip on their shoulder	*	5	-5
Discriminate against whites	*	4	-4
No real problems	1	11	-10
Not sure	4	6	-2

*Less than 0.5%.

Two areas of relative agreement emerge:

-- On the need for better training and education, both blacks and whites are in relative agreement. Blacks place this issue as the 2nd most important, while whites put it at the top of the list. As will be seen, there is indeed more agreement than might have been imagined on this pivotal issue.

-- On the pervading issue of discrimination and prejudice, the lack of equal rights in practice for blacks, both races tend to be in agreement. Blacks place the issue in 4th place in importance, while whites make it 2nd. However, as has been seen, underneath the surface there is substantial disagreement, with blacks feeling discrimination still exists in most areas of their daily lives, while whites tend to deny it. But the high degree to which whites volunteer the problem of discrimination as a problem facing blacks suggests that whites have an uneasy conscience about prejudice, despite the progress many think has been made in reducing it.

But in at least eight areas, there is a substantial difference between the estimates of the two races about the biggest problems facing blacks -- and these are all sources of real conflict and tension:

-- Far and away the most serious problem confronting blacks, in their own view, is that of unemployment, volunteered by 43%. By contrast, no more than 11% of whites place joblessness for blacks as an important issue, leaving a gap of 32 points. Ironically, just as many whites, 11%, volunteer that blacks have "no real problems" as say umemployment is a serious matter for blacks. At a time when inflation has grown to be the

dominant issue at home, and unemployment has receded to a degree, whites somehow are either out of touch with the essential black condition of unemployment, or simply cannot bring themselves to recognize what is clearly the dominant black concern.

-- Another wide gap area can be found in the 28% of all blacks who volunteer that "poor housing" is a serious problem for them, compared with no more than 15% among whites. Significantly, however, whites do put bad housing conditions into third place on their list of black problems, exactly the same ranking as blacks assign to this issue. The difference undoubtedly can be traced to the fact that whites might be aware of inadequate housing for blacks, but the issue is far more remote to them than it is to blacks, who must face poor housing every day of their lives.

-- Yet another area of real disparity is the problem of blacks getting "promoted to better grade jobs," even if they are fortunate enough to have obtained employment. A substantial 18% of all blacks single out this problem as one of high importance, in sharp contrast to no more than 6% of the whites. Tied closely to the lack of opportunity to advance on the job, instead of being relegated to "bottom-of-the-heap" employment, is the issue of outright job discrimination. While only 4% of the whites feel such job discrimination is a key black problem, a much higher 14% of all blacks do feel it is.

-- Yet another issue with a wide disparity is that of "lack of black leadership which is unified, not fighting among themselves," cited by 8% of the blacks and only 2% of the whites. As was previously reported, blacks are more critical of black leadership on a number of dimensions

than are whites.

-- There are three categories of problems that whites volunteer much more frequently than blacks do as serious problems for blacks. One is "lack of self-esteem," a sense that blacks do not have enough self-confidence or motivation for self-betterment. While 5% of the blacks volunteer that this is a problem, a higher 8% of whites point it up. However, blacks cite this problem as one that has resulted from over 300 years of white dominance, but whites feel it is a basic missing characteristic, a kind of indigenous flaw in the make-up of blacks.

-- Another disparity can be found in the 9% of all whites who suggest that blacks "expect too much in the form of the handout," a view shared by less than 1% of the blacks. Tied closely to this issue is the claim of 7% of the whites that blacks depend on "too much welfare." Ironically, more blacks than whites, however, volunteer that blacks on welfare should be "given more job training." Finally, 5% of the whites feel that blacks "have a chip on their shoulder," which in some cases can be taken to mean they are too aggressive in seeking their rights but in others that "blacks don't know their place," a still alive hangover from other days of black subservience in American society. It is significant, however, that these negative disparities, which in the aggregate are really rather sweeping condemnations of blacks as a kind of sub-species in modern American society, came from only a relatively small minority of whites. Far more important is that higher numbers of whites are aware of black problems centering on jobs, the lack of education and training, poor housing, and even unemployment.

Observation:

Out of these perceived issues, the area of education and training emerges as one where the two races would appear to be ready to work together positively to set up proper training programs.

However, the ultimate problem of integration of housing and neighborhoods really has not been faced as the one permanent solution which could obviate such problems as busing of school children and availability of decent housing for blacks. The jobs problem -- especially unemployment in a period when the Administration is embarked upon a program of raising the interest rates to slow down the economy and thus cool off raging inflation, which in turn can be expected to raise joblessness -- is one of potential confrontation. Of all the issues which exist today, jobs surely must be viewed as the one area where blacks feel most frustrated, most left out in the cold, and where black desperation bids fare to erupt into front-line trouble in the near-term future. Most of all, white indifference to blacks' inability to get jobs will be viewed by blacks themselves as a far worse offense than outright white refusal to join with blacks to help solve this basic problem. Blacks will feel compelled finally to bring the jobs issue to white consciousness in ways that are both visible and vocal, if not through even more militant action.

As reported earlier, by 47-44%, a plurality of blacks feel that

B-4b they will be paid less for the same work as a white, virtually identical with the 46-43% plurality who felt the same back in 1966. In addition,

B-4d the number of blacks who can report incidents in which they or members of their family have been discriminated against in trying to get a job or get ahead on the job has risen from 18% to 39% over the same period.

B-7a A substantial 70% of all blacks feel that unemployment among

B-7b blacks is greater than that for whites where they live. By 58-19%, a majority of blacks report that unemployment among black youths 17 to 21 years of age is now worse, compared to ten years ago. Blacks look to

the federal government more than any other source to help solve this unemployment question, followed by state and local government. Blacks look
B-7c to government at all levels 7 times more than they do to private business to solve this problem of joblessness among blacks. They have virtually no faith that the white community can be expected to do much for their people who are seeking work. It is little wonder that 44% of blacks report
B-7d(1) their young to feel "pretty hopeless about their chances to make it," 40% that black young people "feel justified in ripping off whatever they can get," and 44% feel that their young "begin to lose respect for themselves." Undoubtedly, the sense of bitterness generated by the unemployment issue, particularly among the young, is a major contributor to the tensions that still mark much of race relations in the latter part of the decade of the 1970's.

Whites, by contrast, are far less aware of black troubles in the
W-4b jobs area. Fully 93% of all whites feel that "blacks are getting a better break in getting jobs than they did ten years ago." On unemploy-
W-7a ment rates among blacks, no more than 15% of all whites feel that black
B-7a unemployment is "very much greater" than white unemployement, compared with 50% of blacks who feel that way. In the case of black youth unemployment, 33% of all
W-7b whites feel it is more a problem today than ten years ago, but this is well
B-7b below a comparable 58% of blacks who feel that way about their young people
W-7c who are out of work. Finally, only 27% of whites feel that the federal government ought to take the lead in alleviating unemployment among blacks,
B-7c compared with a higher 49% among blacks.

Observation:

By and large, whites have obviously missed the depths of both the urgency and despair that blacks feel about their troubles in getting work. In the press of their own worries about inflation, whites have simply not taken the time nor concern to raise their own levels of awareness of the problem. Most accurately, the white attitude about black joblessness is one of vague concern, tempered with some heavy doses of indifference.

In the housing area, by 45-40%, a plurality of blacks feel that

B-5a if they were to get an apartment or flat the same as a white person, they would have to pay more in rent than a white would pay. Outside the South, a larger 49-37% plurality feel this way. And, by a thumping 68-17%, a sizable majority of blacks say they would much prefer to live in neighborhoods that have both blacks and whites in them rather than all blacks. Outside the South,

B-5b blacks prefer to live in mixed neighborhoods by an even larger 74-12% margin.

B-5c When asked why they would prefer integration in housing to separation, 36% of blacks who express a preference volunteer that they feel such a step would help the races understand each other much better, 12% that such neighborhoods would be better kept up, 12% more cite potentially positive living experiences for their children who must ultimately make their way in a white world, and another 11% believe that more tax dollars go into integrated than into segregated black areas.

When whites are asked about black housing, by a narrow 47-46%, a plurality express the view that blacks live in as good housing as most

W-5a whites, a turnaround from the 68-24% majority of whites back in 1963 who felt that black housing was inferior. Nor are whites very sanguine about the likelihood of blacks moving into white neighborhoods in the next five

W-5d years. While 38% of all whites see "a lot more" blacks moving into white

areas, 11 years ago in 1967 a higher 47% of whites felt that way. And

W-5e only 16% feel that "a lot more" blacks will be moving into their own neighborhoods by 1983.

Ironically, however, there has been a dramatic change in the number of whites who say they would be upset if blacks moved into their own neighborhoods:

W-5c EXTENT TO WHICH WHITES WOULD BE UPSET BY BLACKS MOVING INTO THEIR OWN NEIGHBORHOODS

Q.: Would it upset you personally a lot, some but not a lot, only a little, or not at all if blacks moved into this neighborhood?

	1978 %	1966 %	1963 %
Would be upset:			
A lot	14	26	33
Some but not a lot	14	20	17
Only a little	11	12	12
Not at all	54	34	32
Already in neighborhood (vol.)	6	x	x
Not sure	2	7	6

x=Not applicable.

The number of whites who would be appreciably upset by blacks moving into their neighborhood has declined from 50% in 1963 to 28% now, 15 years later. Also, the number who say they would not be upset at all has risen from barely one-third (32%) in 1963 to a majority of 54% today.

Another sign of cracks in the ice of white indifference in the housing area emerges when both blacks and whites are asked about the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of a few years ago, which, in effect, said that it was entirely right for certain government agencies to create housing for blacks in the Chicago suburbs, rather than in the racially segregated

B-18 public housing system in the city. It is no surprise that blacks agree
W-18 with that decision by 59-25%. However, it is significant that whites also go along with the decision by a 45-35% margin, up from a 40-34% plurality who disagreed with the decision back in 1976. In the Midwest, whites agree with the court decision by a higher 51-33%, and white suburbanites also agree with it by 42-37%, compared with suburban white opposition to the decision in 1976 by a 39-31% margin.

B-18
W-18 AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH U.S. SUPREME COURT RULING FAVORING CREATION OF HOUSING FOR BLACKS IN CHICAGO SUBURBS

Q.: A few years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court made a ruling which, in effect, said that it was entirely right for certain government agencies to create housing for blacks in the Chicago suburbs, rather than in the racially segregated public housing system in the city. Do you tend to agree or disagree with this decision of the U.S. Supreme Court?

	Agree %	Disagree %	Not Sure %
Total Black	59	25	16
Total White 1978	45	35	20
Region			
East	45	32	23
Midwest	51	33	16
South	38	38	24
West	49	36	15
Size Of Place			
Cities	49	32	19
Suburbs	42	37	21
Towns	50	32	18
Rural	43	36	21
Total White 1976	34	40	26

Observation:

In the housing area, while whites do not expect that the largely segregated pattern that exists will change drastically in the near-term future, nonetheless white readiness to accept such change appears to be on the rise. Clearly, as time passes, white intractability appears to decline, at least as far as living in neighborhoods with blacks is concerned. This fact has enormous implications for the future, since in such neighborhoods integration could not only solve one of the deepest black aspirations, but could ultimately eliminate the raw nerve ends that are frayed by busing for racial purposes.

This study demonstrates clearly that black aspirations are every bit as much upwardly oriented as are those of whites. Blacks and whites are pretty much agreed that there has been an increase in the number of middle
19a class blacks over the past five years. A 47-35% plurality of whites think middle class blacks tend to "lose sympathy with the conditions of other blacks," a view shared by a
19b comparable 50-36% plurality of blacks. Nonetheless, both blacks and whites have a deep desire to achieve the status of being "middle class," as the following table indicates:

HOW BLACKS AND WHITES CLASSIFY THEMSELVES
BY CLASS AND WHAT CLASS THEY ASPIRE TO BE IN

Q.: If you had to describe yourself as/would you like to be upper middle class, middle class, or working class?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Am Now	Would Like To Be	Am Now	Would Like To Be
	%	%	%	%
Upper middle class	3	42	7	40
Middle class	24	32	45	36
Working class	66	20	47	20
Not sure	7	6	1	4

> Highly significant in these results is that, while 76% of all whites would like to be middle class, almost exactly as many blacks -- 74% -- would also like to be middle class. The problem for the blacks, however, is patently clear: compared with 52% of all whites who now feel they have achieved middle class status, only 27% of all blacks feel the same. Put another way, 73% of all blacks believe that they are not in the middle class now, compared with 48% of all whites. Blacks obviously have a long way to go, a much further distance than most whites. The one sure sign for blacks that they are getting to become middle class is for them to achieve residency in a mixed, middle income neighborhood. Apart from the physical and psychological comfort better housing brings, this motivation of blacks spells out why housing is such a make or break issue for them.

Of course, the one issue which has stirred up the most visible controversy in race relations over the past decade centers on public education, particularly the enflamed question of busing children to achieve racial balance in the schools. On the surface, support for such busing has simply not caught on in America. By a narrow 43-42%, a plurality

B-6c of blacks now oppose busing, a turnaround from the 50-30% margin they favored it by back in 1963. Among whites, an overwhelming 85-9% majority also

W-6e oppose busing, not significantly different from the consistent opposition of whites to busing since the idea was first launched in the 1960's.

However, the evidence from those parents whose children have been bused is not nearly as negative as the predisposition to oppose this solution to integration in education would indicate. Among blacks, 35%

B-6d nationwide report that a child in their family has been bused. In the South, fully 46% of black families have had this busing experience. Among

W-6f whites, a much lower 10% report children in their families have been bused.

Yet, when both blacks and whites whose children have been the objects of the busing experiment are asked how it all worked out, the results do not indicate widespread outrage or trouble:

B-6e
W-6g

REACTION OF BLACK AND WHITE PARENTS
WHOSE CHILDREN HAVE BEEN BUSED FOR RACIAL BALANCE
(Base: Children have been bused)

Q.: How did the busing of children in your family to go to school with white/black children work out -- very satisfactory, only partly satisfactory, or not satisfactory?

	Blacks %	Whites %
Very satisfactory	63	56
Partly satisfactory	25	23
Not satisfactory	8	16
Not sure	4	5

Basically, roughly 6 in 10 families report a "very satisfactory" experience for their children in their busing to achieve racial balance, with 8 in 10 expressing a positive reaction overall. Put another way, no more than 8% of the blacks and 16% of the whites feel that having their children bused has not been a satisfactory experience.

As the following table indicates, both blacks and whites report remarkably parallel reasons for their views about the busing experiment:

B-6f
W-6h

REASONS BLACKS AND WHITES GIVE
FOR FINDING THEIR BUSING EXPERIENCE SATISFACTORY OR NOT
(Base: Children have been bused)

Q.: Why do you feel that way about the busing of children in your family?

	Blacks %	Whites %
Why Satisfactory		
No problems, no complaints from children	28	39
Children learn more, better school	19	4
Children learn to live with each other	16	16
No fighting or trouble	9	8
Children happy	6	2
Convenient for parent, bus picks right up	5	3
Have to be bused under the law	3	3
No problems with teachers/drivers	3	3
Parents of both races working together	1	4
Why Not Satisfactory		
Distance too far	8	12
Been trouble, fighting	8	9
Bus late, overcrowded	5	3
Some students unhappy	3	3
Have school nearby, foolish to go distance	1	3
Just don't like the idea	1	6
Should leave blacks alone	1	1

Note: Some people volunteered more than one answer, so columns add to more than 100%.

The litany of no real complaints from the children who have been bused, the ability of white and black children to get along, and the relatively small minority who report fighting and trouble all add up to a quite different picture of how busing has in fact worked out than one might have drawn from the confrontation cases which have received so much attention in the media.

Observation:

> The irony of busing to achieve racial balance is that rarely has there been a case where so many have been opposed to an idea, which appears not to work badly at all when put into practice, at least from the testimony of families who have lived through the experience. While it is obvious that there are whites who are still emotionally disturbed at the whole idea, there are incidents of outbreaks of trouble, there are whites who think the distances are too far to travel, and people would never have opted for the experiment in the first place; nonetheless the almost automatic claim that "busing is a disaster" simply will not hold in the face of the facts from this study. And, among blacks, there is a clear sense that their children are going to better schools, which was the basic intent of the courts in ordering busing in the first place.

The bedrock reason given for having black and white children go to school together is that black children would do better in school if they attend integrated schools. When asked, blacks feel that black children
B-6a would do better in such schools by a margin of 62-7%, with 25% saying they would do about the same as they do now. Among whites, 49% acknow-
W-6a ledge that black children would do better in integrated schools, only 11% worse, and 32% no real difference. Significantly, the number of whites who feel that blacks would do better going to school with whites has

B-6b risen from 28% to 49% since 1966. Thus, 71% of all blacks say they would either like to see their children go to school with whites or that they already do (13% say it is happening now). This 71% number has not changed in 15 years (70% in 1963).

Among whites, the problem is cast in somewhat different terms. The charge has been made repeatedly that white children would suffer if they attended school with blacks, that the black children would hold back
W-6c the whites. However, when asked about this, by 67-26%, a solid majority of whites deny their children would suffer. The number who worry about this problem among white parents has gone up from 19% to 26% since 1963, but the two-thirds majority who feel this is not the case has not changed much.

When asked directly if they would like to see the children in their family go to school with blacks, only 14% of whites object, as the
W-6b following table indicates:

W-6b

WHITES' WILLINGNESS TO SEE CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL WITH BLACK CHILDREN

Q.: Would you like to see the children in your family go to school with black children or not?

	Go With Blacks %	Not Go With Blacks %	Already Do (vol.) %	Makes No Difference (vol.) %	Not Sure %
Total Whites Nationwide	32	14	20	30	4
Region					
East	31	11	21	33	4
Midwest	33	15	13	34	5
South	22	23	29	23	3
West	48	5	14	31	2
Size of Place					
Cities	34	15	22	27	2
Suburbs	32	13	20	32	3
Towns	37	9	20	31	3
Rural	27	19	18	31	5
Age					
18-29 years	46	11	14	27	2
30-49 years	33	13	24	28	2
50 and over	20	18	22	35	5
Education					
8th grade	21	24	22	30	3
High school	27	17	22	30	4
College	41	9	17	30	3
Occupation					
Executive/manager	29	14	23	29	3
Professional	44	6	16	31	3
White collar	41	11	22	23	3
Skilled labor	29	15	20	34	2
Religion					
Protestant	30	16	21	30	3
Catholic	35	11	19	31	4
Jewish	21	21	18	33	7

As this table indicates, when the 20% of whites who report their children are attending schools with blacks is combined with the 32% who would like to see them go to an integrated school, a majority of 52% in effect opt for such an arrangement. In addition, another 30% overall say they would not object to their offspring going to school with blacks. The most resistance also is not hard to find: among white Southerners, residents of rural areas, those with the least education themselves, and among Jewish people. Most acceptance of integration exists among Hispanics, Catholics, professional people, the college educated, young people under 30, small town residents, and those who live in the West.

In addition to this apparent willingness of most whites to see their children go to schools with blacks, there is also a sense of inevitability among whites that integration in education is simply going to happen:

W-6d

WHITE ESTIMATES OF EXTENT TO WHICH THEIR CHILDREN WILL BE GOING TO SCHOOL WITH BLACKS IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

Q.: Five years from now, do you think right around here most black and white children will be going to school together, some but not a lot, or only a few will be going to school together?

	Most Will Be %	Some, Not A Lot %	Only A Few %	Not Sure %
Total Whites Nationwide	53	26	17	4
Region				
East	48	31	17	4
Midwest	43	28	24	5
South	66	20	11	3
West	60	22	14	4
Size of Place				
Cities	59	29	8	4
Suburbs	44	32	20	4
Towns	64	19	14	3
Rural	52	19	25	4

Observation:

The thrust of these results points clearly toward the conclusion that a decisive decision has already been taken in education, at least as far as the American people themselves are concerned. Not only do whites feel that integration in education is going to take place, but no more than 14% are opposed to seeing it happen. Obviously, blacks are more eager for such integration to move apace, for they feel that their own children will be the main beneficiaries of the exercise, although certainly one can argue that white children will also be better off for the experience. Even in the highly controversial area of busing to achieve racial balance, opposed by sizable numbers of whites, the actual consequences of busing have apparently not worked out as most whites feared. To the contrary, busing has worked reasonably well.

When coupled with the previously reported results about integration of neighborhoods and housing, one could conclude that both whites and blacks appear to be ready for further steps along the path to integration, to the disappearance of two separate societies.

> This does not mean that prejudice or bias has disappeared. But it does appear to indicate that if the American people have lived long enough with a problem, they tend to seek out a reasonable remedy, and have now become convinced that integration must be made a reality as the country approaches the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The Pivotal Role of Affirmative Action

For the past several years, both governmental officials vested with the responsibility for making equal opportunity for blacks a reality and students of race relations have reached the conclusion that blacks will achieve equal status only if some form of affirmative action is taken in every sector of the dominant white society. But this issue has in turn generated some of the highest controversy yet seen in the long history of race relations in this country. Opponents of affirmative action have said that such programs are nothing better than racial quotas and will inevitably result in reverse discrimination against whites, especially white males.

As has been the history of most such racial controversies, finally the issue was joined in the courts. The most celebrated case to date is the so-called Bakke case, in which a white man, Alan Bakke, claimed that he was refused admission to a University of California Medical School because the school automatically set aside 16 out of 100 places in the freshman class for non-whites, even if on their tests non-whites scored below whites who applied. The U.S. Supreme Court finally decided that Bakke had been the victim of reverse discrimination and should be admitted to the medical school. The Court also decided that such rigid quotas as setting aside 16 out of 100 places for non-whites are not proper or legal.

At the same time, the Court made clear that students from less advantaged races may be given special consideration on racial grounds. In effect, then, the Supreme Court decided that strict quotas are out, and affirmative action can be used to make up for past discrimination against racial minorities.

B-17a
W-17a

When the Bakke case was laid out before the cross-sections of whites and blacks in this study, an overwhelming 77-12% majority of whites gave it their approval. By the same token, however, a 48-29% plurality of blacks expressed their opposition to the decision.

The reasoning behind the different attitudes toward the Bakke decision are not hard to find. By 74-15%, a majority of blacks tend to

B-17b (3)

feel that "unless quotas are used, blacks and other minorities just won't get a fair shake." Whites deny this claim by a decisive 60-26%. By 75-14%, a majority of blacks also feel that "in business and education, without set quotas, there will be a slowing down in the hiring of blacks and other minorities." Whites split over this claim, with a slight plurality of 45% who see a slowing down of progress for blacks, although 42% of them do not think that will be the case. By the same token, by 57-19%, a majority of whites feel that "with quotas out of the way, the courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing to it that blacks and other minorities really have opportunities opened up for them." By a narrow 38-35%, a plurality of blacks do not think this will happen. In addition, by 59-21%, a majority of whites feel that "with the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities to adjust better and become more productive." By 40-36%, a plurality of blacks agree, but there is obviously much skepticism among blacks about this development.

B-17b
W-17b

CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL QUOTAS NOT BEING ALLOWED

Q.: If racial quotas will not be allowed by the courts do you agree with the following statements?

	Total Black %	Total White %
In business and education, without set quotas there will be a slowing down in the hiring of blacks and other minorities		
Agree	75	45
Disagree	14	42
Not sure	11	13
Unless quotas are used, blacks and other minorities just won't get a fair shake		
Agree	74	26
Disagree	15	60
Not sure	11	14
With the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities to adjust better and become more productive		
Agree	40	59
Disagree	36	21
Not sure	24	20
With quotas out of the way, courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing to it that blacks and other minorities really have opportunities opened up to them		
Agree	35	57
Disagree	38	19
Not sure	27	24

Observation:

It is patently apparent that whites and blacks read the Bakke case in very different ways. Whites are relieved to see the country go off quotas, but feel that the Court's emphasis on pushing for affirmative action without quotas is precisely the right way to go. Thus, whites see Bakke as a signal for making real racial progress without getting hamstrung by the endless confrontations over quotas. Blacks, however, see Bakke as a victory for those opposed to racial progress and think it could be taken as a signal to slow down and even move backwards in giving blacks better opportunities.

Shortly after the Bakke decision was handed down, the U.S. Supreme Court acted in another case involving affirmative action programs set up in the Bell System for women and minorities. The union at AT&T charged that by giving special training and promotions to minorities and women, white men were victims of reverse discrimination and their seniority rights under the union contract were being violated. The high court decided not to review the union's claim of reverse discrimination for white men on promotions, upholding the company's affirmative action program for minorities and women.

When asked about the AT&T case, blacks favor it by 56-21%, while
B-17c whites oppose it by a close 44-36%. However, it should be pointed out that the divisions here are not nearly as sharp as in the Bakke case.

The impact of the Bakke case, however, has been quite different than either white or black institutions thought it would be. Sizable numbers of both races tended to make a judgment that affirmative action would be slowed down or set back altogether.

This survey therefore made an intensive probe into the entire

area of affirmative action, to find out the current feelings about it, and finally the extent to which whites and blacks now appear to be for such programs, now that the exacerbated issues of quotas has been settled by the U.S. Supreme Court and have been found wanting. Here is what the survey shows:

-- The proposition that "minorities and women have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit" meets with a not surprising 76-18% agreement from whites nationally.

B-17d W-17d However, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that blacks also agree with the notion of "strictly making it on merit" by a 49-40% plurality nationally. Southern blacks agree with that statement by 48-37%, but so do blacks who have had a college education, by 49-42%.

But the concept that women and minorities now will have to make it on merit alone turns out to be the full extent to which either whites or blacks would go in acknowledging that the Bakke case has altered affirmative action. Two other projective questions, agreement with which in effect would commit people to opposition to affirmative action, meet with rejection by <u>both</u> whites and blacks:

-- A 45-40% plurality of whites and a much more decisive 60-20% majority of blacks both reject the claim that "once affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started, the result is bound to be

reverse discrimination against white men." White men actually tend to agree with that proposition by 49-40%, but white women carry the day by disagreeing with it by a more sizable 49-33%.

-- A much more decisive 66-24% majority of the whites nationally and an overwhelming 76-16% majority of blacks disagree with another claim that "white men learn faster, are better qualified, and will continue to hold down the better jobs, no matter how many affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started." This claim, which allowed people to express a kind of inevitability of white male dominance in society, obviously is simply not being bought.

On the positive aspects of affirmative action, the results showed a much greater convergence of white and black attitudes than some would have expected:

-- It was not surprising to find a 91-4% majority of blacks who agree with the statement that "after years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education." Significantly, when whites were asked if they agree or disagree with that identical statement, a lopsided 71-21% majority of whites agreed with it.

-- Again, when the claim that "if there are no affirmative action programs helping women and minorities in employment and education, then these groups will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future," was put to both the cross-section of blacks and whites, the 73-11% majority of blacks who concurred was no surprise. But whites also agree with the

statement, albeit by a narrow 42-39% nationally. Outside of the South, whites agreed by a somewhat wider 46-38% margin, but in the South, a 43-31% plurality disagreed. Again, the white sex split proved to be decisive with men disagreeing with this statement by 46-38%, but women more than making up that deficit and agreeing with it by a clear 45-32%.

-- Finally, the survey put forth another statement supportive of affirmative action programs: "as long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job." Blacks agree with this view by an overwhelming 77-11%, but so do whites by 70-21%.

STATEMENTS ABOUT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS

Q.: Do you tend to agree or disagree with the following statements about affirmative action programs in education and employment?

	Total Black %	Total White %
After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education		
Agree	91	71
Disagree	4	21
Not sure	5	8
As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job		
Agree	77	70
Disagree	11	21
Not sure	12	9
If there are no affirmative action programs helping women and minorities in employment and education, then these groups will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination into the future		
Agree	73	42
Disagree	11	39
Not sure	16	19
Minorities and women have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit		
Agree	49	76
Disagree	40	18
Not sure	11	6
Once affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against white men		
Agree	20	40
Disagree	60	45
Not sure	20	15
White men learn faster, are better qualified, and will continue to hold down the better jobs, no matter how many affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started		
Agree	16	24
Disagree	76	66
Not sure	8	10

Observation:

Finally, the survey hits upon the key to what Bakke has triggered -- "as long as there are no rigid quotas." Once rigid quotas have been ruled out, then the way is cleared for whites to take quite a different view of affirmative action than has been the case before.

Indeed, when affirmative action was posed in terms of "no rigid quotas," both whites and blacks expressed overwhelming support for it, as the following tables clearly show. First, the NCCJ Survey asked about affirmative action programs in industry:

B-17e
W-17e

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS IN INDUSTRY
PROVIDED THERE ARE NO RIGID QUOTAS

Q.: All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in industry for the following people provided there are no rigid quotas?

	Blacks				Whites			
	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol.)	Not Sure	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol.)	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The physically handicapped	88	5	1	6	87	5	2	6
Vietnam veterans	83	6	4	7	73	12	7	8
Women	86	6	2	6	68	15	8	9
Blacks	89	5	1	5	67	17	7	9
Spanish-Americans	77	8	3	12	65	17	6	12
Catholics	63	11	12	14	51	21	18	10
Jews	59	13	14	14	51	22	17	10

Then the two cross-sections were asked about affirmative action programs "provided there are no rigid quotas" in higher education:

B-17f
W-17f

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
PROVIDED THERE ARE NO RIGID QUOTAS

Q.: Do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in higher education for the following groups provided there are no rigid quotas?

	Blacks				Whites			
	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol.)	Not Sure	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol.)	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The physically handicapped	91	3	2	4	85	5	4	6
Vietnam veterans	85	5	3	7	73	11	8	8
Women	90	4	3	3	70	14	9	7
Spanish-Americans	83	6	2	9	68	15	7	10
Blacks	91	4	1	4	68	15	8	9
Catholics	71	8	11	10	54	19	17	10
Jews	67	9	14	10	53	19	18	10

The significance of these results, of course, is that for every one of the seven minorities asked about, a majority of <u>both</u> whites and blacks opt for affirmative action. To be sure, the physically handicapped and Vietnam veterans trigger greater unanimity than women, Spanish-Americans, or blacks. But substantial majorities of both races opt for

affirmative action programs for these groups as well. There is much less support for such programs for Catholics and Jews, but a majority of each race nonetheless still favor affirmative action for these religious minorities.

Observation:

It is perfectly apparent that whites and blacks began at opposite ends of the spectrum about affirmative action before the Bakke decision was handed down. Whites tended to see affirmative action as a code synonym for quotas. Blacks saw quotas as the concrete assurance that affirmative action would result in more blacks being hired and trained or admitted to higher education.

In a fascinating way, however, both whites and blacks show a remarkable willingness to adapt to the implications of Bakke. Whites now clearly are willing to make a sharp distinction between affirmative action and quotas, coming down strongly in favor of affirmative action now. Blacks may be disappointed with the elimination of quotas, but still want to see affirmative action programs without quotas pursued.

The most important finding, of course, is that both blacks and whites come to remarkable agreement about affirmative action. If one considers this startling fact, then the role of affirmative action can take on a major share of the push to achieve racial and religious equality. Implicit is the joint recognition that women and minorities are not going to make it without affirmative action. If the country's institutions would press forward with a widening of affirmative action, instead of the curtailment and cutting back that has happened in higher education, for example, then the instrument of affirmative action, backed by a court mandate, could take on major significance, indeed, and could presage large-scale gains in the critical jobs and education areas.

Optimism for the Future

Not only is there a remarkable degree of agreement among both whites and blacks in this country today about the use of the affirmative action tool as a major instrument for progress for minorities and women, but both races also have a real sense of optimism about the progress that can be made in race relations over the next five years:

B-3b
W-3b ESTIMATES OF BLACKS AND WHITES ABOUT STATUS OF BLACKS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

B-3b.: Now thinking ahead to five years from now, do you feel in your (READ LIST), you will be better off, worse off, or about the same as you are right now?

W-3b.: Now thinking ahead to five years from now, do you feel in their (READ LIST), most black people will be better off, worse off, or about the same as they are right now?

	Blacks About Blacks				Whites About Blacks			
	Better Off %	Worse Off %	About Same %	Not Sure %	Better Off %	Worse Off %	About Same %	Not Sure %
Pay	68	5	18	9	77	1	18	4
Getting proper training and education to get a really good job	64	4	21	11	75	1	21	3
Work situation	63	6	21	10	73	1	23	3
Housing accommodations	63	5	24	8	71	1	24	4
Being able to get black children educated with white children	56	4	29	11	71	2	24	3
Transportation to and from work	56	4	31	9	64	1	29	6
Being able to live in neighborhoods with whites	55	5	31	9	71	1	25	3
Being able to register and vote	49	2	43	6	63	*	33	4

*Less than 0.5%.

By sizable margins, both blacks and whites feel that the future holds out the promise of an improvement in the status of blacks in a wide variety of areas. To be sure, whites are consistently more optimistic than blacks that things will be better. But, significantly, blacks still have real hope that their status is going to be on the upswing.

Perhaps the real key to white readiness for more progress for blacks can be seen in another key question, asked whites back in the '60's and again in this survey:

W-3c PACE AT WHICH BLACKS HAVE TRIED TO MOVE
(Base: Asked of whites)

Q.: Do you feel blacks in this country have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace?

	1978 %	1966 %	1963 %
Too fast	37	71	64
Too slow	15	4	6
About right	42	14	17
Not sure	6	12	13

Since 1966, the number of whites who feel that blacks are trying to move "too fast" has fallen off sharply from 71% to 37%. This white reaction undoubtedly reflects the overt decline in black militancy throughout the decade of the 1970's. But it is an even more significant measure of white irritability about black pressure to achieve a more equal status. Simply put, much of the white antagonism about blacks pressing for greater equality has now disappeared.

Observation:

Contrary to much supposed prevailing wisdom, white attitudes toward blacks and toward real progress for blacks in this country are not more hardened than ever before. It is not an overstatement to conclude that claims that most whites are bristling with resentment about affirmative action for blacks, about blacks moving to improve their lot, prove to be largely a fairy tale, a state of mind on the part of some in the media and in the establishment and, most of all, in the heads of some who have posed as social science analysts without any real evidence to go on.

Indeed, the conditions appear to be ripe for blacks to sound the trumpets that have been muted since the days of Martin Luther King, Jr., and to strike out for an acceleration of progress on many fronts: jobs, housing, education, and political representation. White conscience is still capable of being appealed to, and it is patently apparent that whites expect that blacks will press for greater equality. And, perhaps make just such progress. Blacks, of course, have long since learned that rhetoric alone will not do the job, nor will whites voluntarily take away the barriers that still block the realization of black equality. If ever there were a time when both whites and blacks were ready for a renewal of black demands for substantive progress, the late 1970's was it. Indeed, any notion that "benign neglect" would work in the future could lead to a tragic confrontation and a period of rising black bitterness at having come this far and then being frustrated in making a breakthrough. In fact, it is now apparent that much of the establishment in the U.S. has sadly misread the mood of the country on black-white relations and the potential for progress. But, then, this has been the mark of establishment leadership over the past 15 years in many critical areas of America's national life. The most important area on which establishment leadership could help the cause of better race relations in this country today clearly is that of jobs for minorities and women. In the sore troubles over inflation, whites simply are not aware that blacks are suffering most from lack of job opportunity, job training, and job fulfillment. Compensating for this white lack of sensitivity could be a major contribution those in government, business, trade unions, and other institutions could make to racial progress.

CHAPTER II:

THE STATUS OF WOMEN'S QUEST FOR EQUALITY

The 1970's have witnessed the rebirth of efforts on the part of women to achieve a more equal status in American society. For the first time since the second decade of this century, a widespread women's movement has come into existence, with the avowed purpose of working to secure equal rights for women and place them on the same footing with men in every part of their lives.

There is overwhelming recognition of the fact that some progress
B-1c has been made. A massive 89% of the total public in America feel that
W-1c "things for women are better" than they were 10 years ago, with no more than 3% who think there has been deterioration, and 8% who feel things are the same as they were a decade ago. Men tend to see more progress than women, however.

But the public also feels there is still much unfinished business in the quest of equality for women. Here is how the public as a whole and men and women assess the status of discrimination against women in eight key areas of life:

W-1a
B-1a

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Q.: First, I'd like to ask you some questions about women and women's rights. Do you feel that in their (ITEM), women are discriminated against or not around here?

	Total Public			Men			Women		
	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %
Wages	46	43	11	42	49	9	50	38	12
Getting promoted into managerial jobs	45	44	11	43	47	10	47	41	12
Getting credit, loans, and mortgages	39	41	20	37	43	20	42	40	18
Getting skilled labor jobs	39	49	12	36	54	10	42	44	14
Being able to combine family and work if they need or want to	25	63	15	22	64	14	28	62	10
Job benefits such as pensions and health insurance	19	69	12	14	74	12	22	64	14
Getting into labor unions	18	48	34	20	55	25	17	41	42
Getting a quality education	10	66	24	8	88	4	12	64	24

These results indicate that substantial minorities or pluralities of the public feel that women are discriminated against on wages paid them, on getting promoted into managerial jobs, on getting credit and loans and mortgages, and on getting skilled labor jobs, 4 of the 8 areas asked about. Much smaller minorities feel women are the victims of discrimination in being able to combine family and work, job benefits such as pensions and health coverage, getting into labor unions, and in obtaining a quality education.

Perhaps even more significant is the fact that across the board women are more convinced than men that their sex is discriminated against. On the issue of wages, by 49-42%, most men do not think there is discrimination against women, but a clear 50-38% plurality of women do. On getting promoted into managerial jobs, by 47-43% men do not think there is discrimination, but by 47-41%, women think there is. On getting credit, loans, and mortgages, a 43-37% plurality of men see no discrimination, but a narrow 42-40% plurality of women feel there is. On obtaining skilled labor jobs, a substantial 54-36% majority of men do not believe women are discriminated against, and here, by a very narrow 44-42%, a plurality of women agree.

One of the reasons for the progress that has taken place in women achieving equal rights is the acknowledgedly important role of the organized efforts to strengthen women's status in society. Back in 1970, by only a 42-41% margin, the public felt that such organized efforts were an important and positive force. Now, in 1978, a massive 66-21% majority feel this way. The trends among women and men are significant:

B-1d
W-1d EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN AND CHANGE WOMEN'S STATUS IN SOCIETY

Q.: There has been much talk about changing women's status in society. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?

	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
1978 Total Public	66	21	13
Men	66	20	14
Women	65	22	13
1970 Total Public	42	41	17
Men	44	39	17
Women	40	42	18

While both men and women have moved dramatically behind the efforts to strengthen and change women's status, the shift among women has been greater. Among key subgroups in the population, there are a number of significant patterns, which indicate clearly where the thrust for women's rights is coming from:

B-1d
W-1d

EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN AND CHANGE WOMEN'S STATUS IN SOCIETY

Q.: There has been much talk about changing women's status in society. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?

	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
Total Public	66	20	14
Sex			
Men	66	20	14
Women	66	21	13
Region			
East	73	14	13
Midwest	66	19	15
South	57	31	12
West	69	21	10
Size of Place			
Cities	72	17	11
Suburbs	70	18	12
Towns	54	25	21
Rural	61	27	12
Age			
18-29 years	76	14	10
30-49 years	69	20	11
50 and over	56	27	17
Education			
8th grade	60	26	14
High school	64	22	14
College	70	19	11
Race			
White	66	21	13
Black	70	15	15
Hispanic	79	7	14
Occupation			
Executive/manager	71	20	10
Professional	69	17	14
White collar	70	14	16
Skilled labor	61	26	13
Income			
Under $7,000	64	21	15
$7,000-$14,999	64	22	12
$15,000-$24,999	68	20	12
$25,000 and over	74	17	9
Religion			
White Protestant	60	25	15
White Catholic	74	14	12
Jewish	77	13	10
Political Party			
Republican	60	26	14
Democratic	66	21	13
Independent	77	13	10

These results indicate that support for women's rights is greater on the East and West coasts than in the South and Midwest, is stronger in cities and suburbs than in small towns and rural areas, is strongest among young people under 30 and weakest among those over 50, is most substantial among the best educated, is stronger among those with incomes of $15,000 and above than those with incomes under $15,000, is greatest among Catholics and Jews, and runs higher among Democrats and Independents than among Republicans.

Observation:

The cause of womens's rights tends to divide the American people between those who opt more for change and those who do not. On this issue people who have the highest education and income tend to be more for change, while those who are older, less well educated, and less privileged tend to be more resistant. Significantly, those most in a position to effect change are most in favor of the activity in behalf of women.

By the same token, however, members of minority groups also tend to be more supportive of women's rights. For example, Hispanics favor the organized efforts in behalf of women's rights by a massive 79-7%, as do blacks by 70-15%, Catholics by 74-14%, and Jews by 77-13%.

This closing of ranks by all of the key minority groups indicates a certain common ground that the women's movement gives to the entire question of progress for minorities. At least as far as the women's cause is concerned, combined efforts in behalf of a whole roster of minorities would appear to be capable of rallying a broader rather than narrower constituency.

The outlook for the future for women is seen as bright and hopeful, both by men and by women, with sizable majorities reporting that on a whole host of dimensions things have grown better in the past decade:

3-1b
W-1b

ESTIMATE OF HOW WELL OFF WOMEN ARE IN KEY AREAS COMPARED WITH 10 YEARS AGO

Q.: Do you feel women are better off in their (READ LIST) than they were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as they were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Women Today Are:			
	Better Off %	Worse Off %	About Same %	Not Sure %
Wages	88	1	8	3
Men	90	1	6	3
Women	86	1	9	4
Getting Skilled Labor Jobs	85	1	8	6
Men	88	1	7	4
Women	81	2	9	8
Getting Promoted into Managerial Jobs	78	2	13	7
Men	81	2	11	6
Women	75	2	16	7
Getting a Quality Education	78	1	19	2
Men	78	1	20	1
Women	79	1	18	2
Being Able to Combine Family and Work If They Need or Want To	76	2	15	7
Men	77	2	14	7
Women	75	2	16	7
Getting Credit, Loans, and Mortgages	74	2	12	12
Men	77	1	11	11
Women	72	2	14	12
Job Benefits Such as Pensions and Health Insurance	72	1	16	11
Men	75	1	15	9
Women	69	1	18	12
Getting Into Labor Unions	61	1	13	25
Men	66	2	14	18
Women	55	1	14	30

Observation:

There is an abiding sense of momentum about the women's cause, of improvements that have already been made, but also of much unfinished business. Probably the single greatest cause of optimism is the sense that there is a women's movement that has been organized and is pressing for women's rights progress. It is not largesse that women are seeking, but instead the chance to make it without being treated as second-class citizens.

CHAPTER III:

THE PERCEIVED STATUS OF PEOPLE OF SPANISH ORIGIN

By any measure, Hispanic people in America, now making up over 5% of the population, rank among the least privileged in economic terms. In this study, for example, compared with a median annual household income of $14,000 for the entire cross-section, the median annual income of Hispanic families is $12,000. Put another way, this ethnic group has a median income one-quarter lower than the average American family.

Yet, in 11 key areas tested in this study, pluralities or majorities of the public do not feel that this minority is discriminated against. By contrast, Hispanics themselves estimate they are being discriminated against in five pivotal parts of their lives:

W-2a
B-2a

PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HISPANICS

Q.: Now I'd like to ask you some questions about people of Spanish origin, those Spanish-Americans whose family origins are in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, and other Spanish-speaking countries. First, let me ask you about some specific areas of life around here. Tell me for each if you feel that Spanish-Americans are discriminated against or not in that area around here. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Total Public			Hispanics			Blacks		
	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %
In getting promoted to managerial jobs	4	40	26	48	41	11	45	24	31
In getting white collar jobs	34	42	24	49	45	6	45	24	31
In getting skilled labor jobs	32	46	22	51	43	6	43	26	31
In getting decent housing	29	51	20	45	49	6	42	30	28
In the wages they are paid	27	50	23	55	39	6	41	25	34
In the way they are treated by local police	22	49	29	42	39	19	40	24	36
In getting a quality education	17	63	20	34	64	2	30	39	31
In getting into labor unions	16	51	33	27	51	22	29	32	39
In the way their children are treated by non-Spanish teachers	14	54	32	38	49	13	26	25	49
In getting unskilled labor jobs	13	68	19	30	63	7	24	48	28
In the way they are treated on welfare	11	57	32	27	48	25	22	37	41

It is immediately apparent that many of the demeaning experiences that Hispanics feel is discrimination simply are not known about nor even perceived by large numbers of the American public. The most sizable disparities between non-Spanish and Spanish perceptions of discrimination emerge in these

areas: on the way their children are treated by non-Spanish teachers (24 percentage points); in the wages they are paid (28 points); in the way they are treated by the local police (20 points); in getting skilled labor jobs (19 points); and in getting unskilled labor jobs (17 points).

Significantly, by rather substantial margins, blacks tend to feel that Hispanics are discriminated against in 6 out of the 11 areas: in getting decent housing, in getting skilled jobs, in getting white collar jobs, in getting promoted to managerial positions, in the way they are treated by the local police, and in the wages they are paid. This empathy among blacks for the plight of Hispanics takes on added significance when it is realized that roughly 3 in 10 blacks simply are unable to render a judgment about Spanish-Americans, and, in fact, 63% of the blacks report "hardly any" or "no contact at all" with their fellow minority group.

In fact, one of the problems Hispanics face in America is that 62% of the non-Spanish public simply has no real contact with them. This number rises to 68% in the Midwest, 71% in the South, 70% in the small towns, 75% in rural areas, and 66% among women, in the white population. Only in the West and in the big cities can majorities be found among whites who know any Hispanics. Yet, when asked how their experience has been with them, a

B-2e lopsided 90-6% feel that coming into contact with people of Spanish origin

W-2e is "pleasant and easy."

B-2d
W-2d

CONTACT WITH SPANISH-AMERICANS
(Base: Asked of non-Spanish-Americans)

Q.: Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with people of Spanish origin, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Spanish-Americans?

	A Lot %	Some But Not A Lot %	Hardly Any %	None %	Not Sure %
Total Public	12	26	32	30	*
Total White	12	26	32	30	*
Region					
East	9	30	31	30	*
Midwest	9	23	36	32	*
South	10	17	30	41	2
West	25	42	27	6	-
Size of Place					
Cities	15	35	26	24	*
Suburbs	15	29	32	24	*
Towns	11	19	34	36	*
Rural	6	19	36	39	*
Sex					
Male	15	29	31	25	*
Female	9	24	32	34	1

*Less than 0.5%.

When a kind of profile of what non-Spanish whites think of Hispanics is drawn, two important positive impressions emerge:

-- By 63-16%, a clear majority of non-Spanish white people agree that "Spanish-Americans have worked hard for a better life here." Blacks share this view by a 59-14% margin.

-- By 40-15%, a plurality of non-Spanish whites feel that Hispanics are "deeply religious." Curiously, a smaller 32-15% plurality of blacks feel the same way, although a high 53% simply do not know.

However, non-Spanish whites reject by an overwhelming margin another claim:

-- By 64-16%, a large majority of non-Spanish whites do not agree that "Spanish-Americans have faced more discrimination in this country than other immigrant groups." Blacks also reject this charge by a substantial 42-26% margin.

By the same token, however, two negative claims about Hispanics are also rejected by non-Spanish whites:

-- By 59-16%, a majority do not feel that "Spanish-Americans want to live off the hand-out."

-- By 51-26%, a majority do not go along with the view that "Spanish-Americans don't try to learn English."

However, on another negative tested, both non-Spanish whites and blacks share one stereotype about Hispanics:

-- By 39-33%, a plurality of non-Spanish whites feel that "Spanish-Americans are highly emotional and are apt to fly off the handle." A much wider 41-19% plurality of blacks feel the same way.

B-2c
W-2c

STATEMENTS ABOUT SPANISH-AMERICANS
(Base: Asked of non-Spanish-Americans)

Q.: Do you tend to agree or disagree with the following statements made about Spanish-Americans?

	Total Black			Total White		
	Agree %	Dis-agree %	Not Sure %	Agree %	Dis-agree %	Not Sure %
Have worked hard for a better life here	59	14	27	63	16	21
Are highly emotional and are apt to fly off the handle	41	19	40	39	33	28
Are deeply religious	32	15	53	48	15	37
Have faced more discrimination in this country than any other immigrant groups have	26	42	32	16	64	20
Don't try to learn English	25	47	28	26	51	23
Want to live off the hand-out	17	46	37	16	59	25

Observation:

In this study, for perhaps the first time on a national cross-section basis, perceptions of Hispanics by the rest of the adult population have been tested. The key facts that emerge show Hispanics to be a minority which is obviously struggling hard to get ahead in a most difficult environment.

It is perfectly apparent that the non-Spanish public simply is unaware of the problems Hispanics face, and indeed is somewhat puzzled by the phenomenon of this minority group. However, they tend to feel that Hispanics are willing to try hard to get ahead, that they do not ask for much they are not entitled to, that they are deeply religious, and they are trying to learn the language.

The two missing links quite clearly are a lack on the part of non-Spanish people of close contact with Hispanics and little sense of the frustration and discrimination many of them face in their daily lives.

The media may have been deficient, because there seems to be a lack of exposure to what life in the barrios is really like. Perhaps Hispanics do tend to turn inward to their own community. Perhaps, as a proud people, they do not take as readily to bringing their case to the non-Spanish community as do other minority groups.

But, in terms of the dominant white community in America, the Hispanics have suffered most of all from simply being ignored. The irony of it all is that when whites come into contact with members of this minority group, they find the experience highly positive. In the meantime, Hispanics endure their experiences largely unrecorded and largely unknown to the vast majority of their countrymen.

CHAPTER IV:

PERCEPTIONS OF CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES

A sizable 90-3% of the non-Catholic public in America feel that

B-22c W-22c they have had "pleasant and easy relationships" with Catholics. Partly as a result of this highly positive experience only 4% of the total public feel that anti-Catholic feeling has been rising recently, compared with 20% who feel

B-23c W-23c it is diminishing, and 64% who see little change. By a massive 89-4%,

B-23d W-23d most people simply feel that Catholics are not discriminated against.

Yet, further probing in some depth reveals that there are some stereotypes which disturb non-Catholics:

B-22a W-22a -- By 62-24%, a majority of white non-Catholics feel the "Catholics tend to favor their own." This charge is believed by 63-23% among white Protestants, by an even higher 68-21% among Jewish people, and by a lesser 57-15% among blacks.

-- Half of the white non-Catholics in the country, 50%, do not go along with the claim that "Catholics tend to be narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma." However, a significant 35% minority agree with this charge. By 50-33%, white Protestants disagree with it, but Jews disagree by a much closer 50-42%. Blacks do not buy it, but only by 32-30%, with a sizable 39% who just are not sure about it.

Another negative stereotype about Catholics tested in the study meets with solid rejection:

-- By 61-12%, white non-Catholics just do not go along with the claim that "Catholics are more prejudiced against racial minorities than others." By the same token, however, by 54-20%, a majority of white non-Catholics also reject the view that "Catholics have a better attitude toward racial minorities than others." Basically, then, the prevailing perception

about Catholics is that they are not strongly associated with pro or con feelings about racial minorities. Significantly, however, among blacks, the claim that Catholics have a better attitude toward racial minorities yields a much better 30-30% stand-off. In a number of places in America, of course, the Catholic Church has taken a very tough and courageous stand in behalf of black rights.

One positive that impresses non-Catholics is widely believed:

-- By 61-22%, a big majority of white non-Catholics feel that "Catholics are deeply religious." Blacks agree by 53-14%.

Observation:

It is apparent from these results that Catholics are widely viewed by non-Catholics as part of the mainstream of America, by and large not discriminated against, and mostly highly pleasant people to come into contact with.

But some of the seeds of past prejudice against Catholics nonetheless can be found. By 60-27%, a clear majority of white non-Catholics deny the charge that "Catholics have suffered discrimination because of their religion," an allegation that can be illustrated many times in American history. When this denial is coupled with the feeling on the part of a majority that "Catholics tend to favor their own," and with the better than 1 in 3 white non-Catholics who see Catholics as "narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma," the basis of latent anti-Catholicism is evident.

Put bluntly, it means that the relatively secure feeling the non-Catholic public has about Catholics not being discriminated against or not being the victims of prejudice does not hold water. However, it can also be said that compared with the massive problems that still beset the blacks and Hispanics, Catholics face much less discrimination in their daily lives than other minorities and this condition is likely to continue into the indefinite future.

CHAPTER V:

PERCEPTIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

No more than 8% of the American people feel that anti-Jewish
B-23a feeling is on the rise in the area in which they live, down from 11% who
W-23a felt that way back in 1976. A much more sizable 21% report that anti-Semitism is on the decline, up slightly from 20% who felt comparably two years ago. And 55% see no change in anti-Jewish feeling, roughly the same as the 57% who gave an identical answer in 1976.

Among Jews, a much higher 21% report that they feel anti-Semitism is rising, only 10% that it is diminishing, while 66% feel it remains at the same level as before. However, when these results are compared with those of the past, the sense that anti-Jewish sentiment is on the increase has also abated dramatically among Jews themselves. For, back in 1975, 42% of all Jews felt that anti-Jewish feeling was going up, 10% going down, and 45% remaining the same as before.

B-23a
W-23a

WHETHER ANTI-JEWISH FEELING IS ON RISE

Q.: Do you feel that anti-Jewish feeling is on the rise around here today?

	Total Public %	Total Jews %	Total Blacks %
On the rise	8	21	11
Diminishing	21	10	13
About the same	55	66	45
Not sure	16	3	31

Compared to contact with some other minorities, contact with
B-21b Jewish people by non-Jews is reported quite high, with 46% of the public
W-21b saying they have had at least some contact, down marginally from the 49% who said the same back in 1976. What is more, by 82-6%, a sizable majority of non-Jews feel that their relationship with Jews has been "pleasant and easy," identical with the 83-4% majority who said the same two years ago.

Finally, when the public was asked about discrimination against Jews, an overwhelming 80-7% majority said they now feel that Jews are not
B-23b discriminated against, a sizable increase from the much narrower 68-21%
W-23b majority who felt Jews were not victims of discrimination in 1976. Among Jews themselves, 18% feel that they are discriminated against, but this number is sharply down from 50% who felt that way three years back.

Observation:

If the above results were all this survey had to report about discrimination against Jews, then one could make the salutary observation that anti-Semitism has dropped dramatically in recent years. However, as will now be seen, the extent to which these conclusions check with the stereotypes non-Jews have about Jews casts considerable doubt on such optimistic and euphoric conclusions.

In fact, there has been very little decline in the number of non-Jews who associate Jews with negative stereotypes:

B-21a -- The number of non-Jews who feel that "when it comes to choos-
W-21a ing between people and money, Jews will choose money" has actually gone up

from 30% to 34% since 1976.

-- The 27% of the non-Jewish public who feel that "Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive," is 2 points below the 29% who felt that way two years ago.

-- 29% of the non-Jews feel that "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America," which is a slight decline from 1976 when 30% felt that way.

-- 20% of the non-Jewish adult population feel that "most of the slumlords are Jewish," the same number who responded affirmatively to that statement in 1976.

By and large, it would be sound to conclude that negative stereotypes about Jews have not changed significantly from 1976. However, there have been dramatic shifts downward in the number of non-Jewish Americans who adhere to positive stereotypes about Jews:

-- Back in 1976, an overwhelming 87-11% majority of non-Jews felt that "Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries." Two years later, a still impressive 75-15% majority agree with this statement, but the positive side of this claim has gone down 12 points, while the negative answer has more than doubled.

-- Back in 1976, a 75-10% majority agreed with the statement that "the same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down." Two years later, this majority has dropped to 62-19% who feel this way, a decline of 13 points in the positive column and again nearly doubling on the negative side of the coin.

-- Two years ago, a 49-35% plurality denied the claim that "Jews have to work harder because they are discriminated against in so many places."

Now, a much higher 55-26% majority deny that this is the case.

-- In 1976, a narrow 36-30% plurality agreed with the claim that "Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people." Now, a fairly close 36-29% plurality does not think that Jews are more supportive of the rights of minority groups.

B-21a
W-21a

STATEMENTS ABOUT JEWS
(Base: Asked of non-Jews)

Q.: Do you tend to agree or disagree with the following statements made about Jews?

	Total Public %	Total Blacks %	Total Whites %
Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries			
Agree	75	61	76
Disagree	15	17	15
Not sure	10	22	9
The same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down			
Agree	62	67	62
Disagree	19	10	20
Not sure	19	23	18
When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money			
Agree	34	56	32
Disagree	42	14	45
Not sure	24	30	23
Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people			
Agree	29	38	28
Disagree	36	25	37
Not sure	35	37	35
Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America			
Agree	29	37	28
Disagree	42	14	45
Not sure	29	49	27
Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive			
Agree	27	29	27
Disagree	55	37	57
Not sure	18	34	16
Jews have to work harder because they're discriminated against in so many places			
Agree	26	37	25
Disagree	55	37	57
Not sure	17	26	18
Most of the slumlords are Jewish			
Agree	20	41	17
Disagree	36	19	38
Not sure	44	40	45

Observation:

On a nationwide basis, it is immediately apparent what has happened to attitudes toward Jews among the non-Jewish segment (96%) of the adult population. Overt anti-Semitism has not risen appreciably, if at all. But the percentage of those expressing a rather deep empathy for the problems Jews have faced for many years, and their struggle to overcome prejudice and discrimination has begun to slip appreciably. Fundamentally, what has happened is that far more non-Jews now tend to think that Jews have it made and therefore do not really require allies in the non-Jewish community to fight anti-Semitism when it might appear. Jews have fewer strong supporters among non-Jews, although their number of critics is not increasing.

The most serious implication of this finding is that in the event of overt or subtle forms of anti-Semitism, it is now far less likely that non-Jews would rally to the defense of Jews than was the case just a few years ago. It is obviously the view of both Jews and non-Jews that Jewish people face less discrimination now than they have in the past, and therefore people are inclined to believe that the need to defend Jews is simply not as urgent as it once was. But it is highly unlikely that Jews will rest easier when learning of these latest results.

A notable exception to the overall pattern of these results can

B-21b be found among blacks, 39% of whom report they have contact with Jews and 70% of whom say that contact is "pleasant and easy" (compared with a higher 84% among white non-Jews).

B-21c
W-21c

RELATIONSHIPS WITH JEWISH PEOPLE
(Base: Asked of non-Jews)

Q.: All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Jewish people, or have you had troubles with them?

	Total %	Total Black %	Total White %
Pleasant and easy	83	70	84
Troubles with them	6	6	6
Not sure	11	24	10

B-21a
W-21a

The number of blacks who feel that Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries is 61%, 15 points below that for all non-Jews. The number of blacks who feel that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America is 37%, 8 points higher than for all non-Jews.

Far more significant is the fact that by 41-19%, with 40% simply "not sure," blacks feel that "most of the slumlords are Jewish," while white non-Jews disagree with that charge by a 38-17% plurality. At the same time, by 56-14%, a majority of blacks feel that "when it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money," compared with a 45-32% plurality of non-Jewish whites who deny this is so.

Ironically, however, by 38-25%, a plurality of blacks feel that "Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people," while a 37-28% plurality of white non-Jews do not think that is the case.

Observation:

Tensions between blacks and Jews have existed now for a considerable period of time. And this does not all stem from antipathy blacks have for Jews. For example, while a decisive 60-28% majority of Jews acknowledge that blacks live in inferior housing to whites, 46% of all Jews say they would be upset if blacks moved into their neighborhoods. A comparatively lower 39% of the total white population registered the same reaction to this statement. Over 1 in 5 Jews, 21%, would not like to see their children attend school with blacks, compared to a much lower 14% among all whites. Jewish parents hold more to the belief that blacks in the classroom with their children will hold back the learning process for their own offspring than do non-Jewish whites. By 63-25%, a majority of Jews actually oppose full integration for blacks, higher than the 58-35% majority of whites who feel that way.

It is fair to conclude that as a group, Jews are not today in the vanguard of non-black people pressing for integration and progress for blacks.

But, for their part, blacks hold attitudes toward Jews which are considerably less tolerant and sympathetic than is the case with the rest of the non-Jewish public. Blacks still tend to see most Jews as money greedy and heavy in their representation in the non-black business community that they believe exploits them where they live. At the same time, however, blacks also sense that Jewish liberals have been and continue to be more supportive of civil rights for minorities than others in the white community.

Certainly, the entire area of black-Jewish relations is one that is still in sore need of attention by any organizations which are promoting greater understanding between the races and religions.

CHAPTER VI:

COMMUNITY, CORPORATE, AND BLACK LEADERS ASSESS THE STATE OF PREJUDICE IN THE UNITED STATES

A Word About These Leaders

As part of the effort of this research to determine the perceived status of prejudice and discrimination in America in the late 1970's, a separate sample of leadership groups was interviewed in considerable depth. Part of the line of questioning of the leaders was identical to that of the cross-sections of whites, blacks, and other ethnic and religious minorities. However, in addition, leaders were asked to give their estimates of what they thought prevailing attitudes of various minorities were. These last probes are always highly valuable, for they often reveal the extent to which leaders are in touch with their own constituencies and also whether they are predicating their own acts on sound assumptions.

In all, 110 community leaders were surveyed, drawn from the ranks of public officials and political leaders, educators, labor leaders, religious leaders, heads of non-profit organizations, minority, ethnic, and dissident groups leaders, business leaders, and consumer and environmental activist leaders. A total of 96 of the leaders were whites, 11 were blacks. In addition, 102 top corporate leaders drawn both from the highest levels of executive management as well as from those vested with responsibilities for dealing with racial and religious prejudice problems were surveyed. Finally, 53 top black leaders were surveyed nationwide, and, in the aggregate, form a sizable proportion of the national black leadership in this country.

The median age of the leaders is 42 years, while in terms of education, a majority have had post-graduate university education. By religion,

L-F3
L-F4
L-F5
L-F6a

64% are Protestant, 22% Catholic, and 5% Jewish -- not very different from the adult population as a whole. In their politics, 44% are Democrats, 23% Republicans, and 29% Independents -- again quite like the general public in

L-F6b distribution. In their political philosophy, the leadership group counts 27% as conservatives, 29% middle of the road, and 37% liberal. However, a closer breakdown of the corporate leaders reveals 39% of them as conservatives, 30% middle-of-the-road, and 29% liberals. Among national black leaders, not a one classified himself as a conservative, 11% are middle-of-the-road, 64% liberals, and 19% consider themselves radicals. Among community leaders, 29% are conservatives, 36% middle-of-the-road, and 30% liberal.

Leaders Assess the State of Black-White Relations

In terms of the progress registered by blacks in this country over
L-3a the past decade, solid majorities of most of the leadership groups feel they are better off. A nearly unanimous 90% of the leaders feel that blacks are better off in being able to register and vote, 82% better off in being able to get their children educated with white children if they want to, 79% better off in their work situation, 79% better off in getting the proper training and education to get a really good job, 72% better off in the housing accommodations they have, 72% better off in being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if they want to, and 63% better off in the transportation available to them to and from work.

While the vast majority of leaders generally feel that blacks are much better off today, national black leaders take notable exception. Only in the case of being better off in registering and voting rights do blacks share the majority white view, at 90%, with 92% of national black leaders registering this view. On being able to get their children educated with whites, compared with 82% of all the leaders, no more than 57% of national black leaders feel

blacks are now better off. On being able to live in white neighborhoods, 57% of black leaders feel blacks are better off today, but this is far below the 72% of all leaders. In every other case tested, only minorities of black leaders feel that real black progress has been made in the past decade. On getting proper training and education to obtain a good job, only 45% of black leaders feel blacks are now better off than 10 years ago, compared with 79% of all leaders. On transportation to and from work, only 40% of black leaders see improvement for their people, compared with 63% of all leaders.

On three basic issues, national black leaders part company with total leaders most widely: while 79% of all leaders feel blacks are now better off in their work situation, only 49% of black leaders feel that way. On housing accommodations, although 72% of all leaders feel that blacks are now better off in their housing, no more than 43% of black leaders share this optimistic opinion. Finally, in the matter of pay, compared with 77% of all leaders who think blacks have improved their status, only 40% of black leaders feel the same.

LEADERSHIP ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION OF BLACK PEOPLE NOW COMPARED TO TEN YEARS AGO

Q.: I want to ask you about how you feel most black people in this country are doing today compared to ten years ago. As far as their (READ LIST) goes, do you feel they are better off today than they were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as they were then?

	Total Leaders %	National Black Leaders %
Being able to register and vote		
Better off	90	92
Worse off	*	2
About the same	8	6
Not sure	2	-
Being able to get their children educated with white children if they want to		
Better off	82	57
Worse off	6	15
About the same	11	26
Not sure	1	2
Getting the proper training and education to get a really good job		
Better off	79	45
Worse off	5	19
About the same	15	34
Not sure	1	2
Work situation		
Better off	79	49
Worse off	9	26
About the same	12	25
Not sure	*	-
Pay		
Better off	77	40
Worse off	8	25
About the same	14	30
Not sure	1	5
Being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if they want to		
Better off	72	57
Worse off	4	13
About the same	23	30
Not sure	1	-
Housing accommodations		
Better off	72	43
Worse off	8	26
About the same	19	30
Not sure	1	1
Transportation to and from work		
Better off	63	40
Worse off	8	21
About the same	22	36
Not sure	7	3

*Less than 0.5%.

L-3c When asked to give a kind of overall assessment, 80% of all leaders think most aspects of life for blacks are better now than they were a decade ago. But a minority of 49% of national black leaders hold the same view.

L-3b Looking to the future, in five years, the leaders as a whole are less optimistic about the way life will be for blacks than is the case with the public. On their work situation, 64% of the public but only 58% of all leaders think that things will be better for blacks. However, a much lower 34% of national black leaders hold such optimism. Almost identical patterns prevail in every other area, including housing, pay, getting black children an integrated education, transportation to and from work, and getting proper training and education to get a really good job. White leaders are more pessimistic than the public and black leaders are 10-25 points lower in their optimism than the total leadership group.

L-3b

LEADERSHIP ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION OF BLACK PEOPLE FIVE YEARS FROM NOW

Q.: Do you feel in the following areas most black people will be better off, worse off, or about the same five years from now as they are right now?

	Total Leaders %	National Black Leaders %
Pay		
Better off	61	36
Worse off	5	17
About the same	30	40
Not sure	4	7
Getting the proper training and education to get a really good job		
Better off	60	42
Worse off	6	19
About the same	30	32
Not sure	4	7
Work situation		
Better off	58	34
Worse off	6	19
About the same	34	42
Not sure	2	5
Being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if they want to		
Better off	57	34
Worse off	5	19
About the same	36	43
Not sure	2	4
Being able to get their children educated with white children if they want to		
Better off	56	38
Worse off	5	13
About the same	36	42
Not sure	3	7
Being able to register and vote		
Better off	53	58
Worse off	2	4
About the same	43	36
Not sure	2	2
Housing accommodations		
Better off	53	28
Worse off	6	21
About the same	38	45
Not sure	3	6
Transportation to and from work		
Better off	47	38
Worse off	5	15
About the same	41	42
Not sure	7	5

L-6a
L-7a

A substantial 58% of the leaders as a whole feel that most black children simply do not receive as good an education as whites in the same communities today. However, a much higher and nearly unanimous 96% of national black leaders feel this way. Among the entire leadership group 59% feel that unemployment among black youths today is worse than it was 10 years ago, but, once more, 96% of national black leaders feel this way.

L-7b

When asked which parts of the public and private sector should take the lead in ameliorating the unemployment situation for black young people, community leaders tend to single out the federal government as the top source for help, followed by private business and local government. National black leaders agree with this assessment, but many more (57% compared with 36% of all community leaders) feel the federal role is the crucial one in getting youth jobs. Business leaders want to put the burden (55%) on to the business community first, then the black community,

L-8a

and then the federal and local governments. While 49% of both the total leadership group and black leaders feel that the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations did a "great deal" to help blacks, no more than 12% of all leaders and only 2% of national black leaders say the same about the Nixon and Ford Administrations. Under the Carter regime, a relatively low 17% give this Administration high marks on helping blacks, and a much lower 6% of all black leaders share this view. It is obvious that both white and black leadership does not have a high opinion of the thrust of Carter's efforts to help blacks.

Cynicism about political leadership runs deep among both national black leaders and black people. By 65-24%, a majority of blacks feel that "it

makes no difference whether Democrats or Republicans are elected, because blacks will always get the short end of the stick," a view agreed upon by a 60-38% majority of national black leaders. The proposition that "blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change" is rejected by a 64-27% majority of blacks and 100% of their leadership.

By the same token, both blacks and their leaders reject the notion that "the only way now that whites will really pay attention to black problems will be when blacks resort to violent demonstrations, even rioting in the streets" by 59-29% among the rank and file and by a higher 70-23% among the leaders. However, a highly significant difference between black people and national black leaders emerges concerning the statement that "the only time blacks make real progress is when they hold public protests and non-violent demonstrations." By 49-37%, a plurality of blacks nationwide agree with the assertion, but by 67-29% the national black leaders disagree.

B-8d
L-8d

BLACK PUBLIC AND LEADERSHIP STATEMENTS ABOUT BLACKS

Q.: Do you tend to agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Total Black Public %	Total National Black Leaders %
It makes no difference whether Democrats or Republicans are elected because blacks will always get the short end of the stick		
Agree	65	60
Disagree	24	38
Not sure	11	2
Democrats usually can be trusted to help blacks while Republicans don't care much		
Agree	64	62
Disagree	19	34
Not sure	17	4
Only time blacks make real progress is when they hold public protests and non-violent demonstrations		
Agree	49	29
Disagree	37	67
Not sure	14	4
With white prejudice on the rise again all the blacks can do is try to hold on to what gains they have won		
Agree	41	9
Disagree	50	91
Not sure	9	-
Only way now that whites will really pay attention to blacks' problems will be when blacks resort to violent demonstrations, even rioting in the streets		
Agree	29	23
Disagree	59	70
Not sure	12	7
Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change		
Agree	27	-
Disagree	64	100
Not sure	9	-

The reason for this disparity is not hard to locate, as the following table illustrates quite dramatically:

L-3e

LEADERSHIP ESTIMATE OF THE WAY MOST AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT THE WAY BLACKS HAVE MOVED

Q.: Do you think most Americans feel that blacks have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace?

	Total Leaders %	Community Leaders %	Corporate Leaders %	National Black Leaders %	Actual View Of Whites %
Think Most Americans Feel:					
Too fast	61	49	67	77	37
Too slow	6	8	4	6	15
About right	28	39	25	12	42
Not sure	5	5	4	5	6

Observation:

In these results, a major clue is furnished as to why whites in this country today hold a higher view of black leadership than blacks themselves. There is a real and pervading sense among national black leaders that the white community has soured on any efforts on the part of blacks to pick up the cudgels and press for more equality now. Black leaders, more than white leaders, are convinced that most Americans feel blacks have tried to move too fast. Therefore, they reason, it would be fruitless to have special demonstrations and protests by blacks. Indeed, the clear implication is that national black leaders fear there would be a severe backlash by whites in the event of such overt street activity. Black people themselves have no such hesitation about expressing their frustrations and moving their case as strongly to the white community as possible, within the constraints of non-violent action. Thus it is fair to conclude that the black public is seeking a leadership which will more forcefully implement a strategy for black equality.

Of course, the data also reveals that white leaders

have become convinced that the American people are in a recoiling mood from the more generous outlook they had at the beginning of this decade. So both sets of leaders are woefully out of date, when it is realized that no more than 37% of the whites feel blacks have tried to move too fast, compared to a much higher 71% who felt that way back in 1977. The shift in white attitudes and their tolerance for more gains for blacks simply has been one of the major developments that has been missed by the entire leadership community -- both black and white -- in America.

There is further evidence that black leadership is not entirely clued into black rank and file thinking. When asked to volunteer what they feel are the major problems facing blacks today, national black leaders put "better education, better motivation of children and teachers" in first place, mentioned by 57%, followed by "lack of jobs, unemployment," cited by 34%. But when blacks themselves were asked an identical question, they reversed the order, with 43% volunteering "lack of jobs and unemployment" followed by "better job training and education," mentioned by 30%. Put bluntly, black leadership underestimates the deeply felt anguish of blacks about the lack of job opportunities and the toll of unemployment among their own people.

National black leaders are more in touch with their rank and file on some other dimensions: by 69-25%, a majority of black leaders feel that most blacks would prefer to live in neighborhoods that have both whites and blacks than in all black neighborhoods. By 68-17%, blacks do in fact prefer to live in integrated rather than segregated neighborhoods. By 59-21%, a majority of black leaders estimate that most black families would prefer their children to go to integrated schools with white children. By 57-6%, blacks also feel that way, with an additional 13% who say their offspring already have achieved that status. And, in estimating black youth unemployment compared with 10 years ago, the 96% of black leaders who say the situation now is worse is higher than the 58% of rank and file blacks who feel the same way, but clearly both groups consider youth unemployment a serious problem.

The biggest gap between black leadership and the rank and file is perfectly obvious, however: blacks feel they will not get far without pressing their needs upon the dominant white community. Black leaders fear repercussions and an unfavorable white reaction. The evidence in this survey clearly points to the rank and file of blacks being far more correct in their estimates that now is the time to press. In the wake of the Bakke decision, white conscience over the lack of equality for blacks has once more emerged, and black

leaders apparently do not realize it. Either the current crop of national black leaders will now move toward greater militancy or the black people will find leaders to match their mood and their aspirations.

Indeed, there is one critical, overall area in which national black leaders are misestimating where their own people stand. When asked how a majority of blacks feel about full integration, only 45% of black leaders feel that most of the rank and file favor it. In fact, 66% of the blacks in this survey say they want no less than full integration in American society.

There is another big disparity between the national black leaders and their constituents: while 55% of the black leaders feel that elected black officials such as congressmen, senators, and mayors are "very effective," a much lower 41% of blacks actually share that confidence. It is in the political and public area that most blacks feel they are not getting the kind of leadership they would like to follow. Significantly, however, no more than 15% of black leaders and 19% of the black rank and file feel that black militants are "very effective." Clearly, blacks want leaders modeled after Dr. King, and they are not going to stop until they find them.

If national black leadership has seriously misassessed the dominant mood and sentiment of their own rank and file, then quite another leadership group -- the corporate community -- appears to be the odd-man-out in its judgment of the contribution of key institutions in society to black progress. In the case of large corporations, a substantial 63% of business leaders feel that they are "really interested" in seeing blacks achieve full equality. No more than 35% of community leaders as a whole share this judgment, while a much lower 14% of national black leaders feel that way. In the case of newspapers, 59% of the business leaders feel that newspapers are genuinely concerned with black progress. A lower 48% of community leaders gives a similar vote of confidence, while a much lower 16% of national black leaders join with them. In the case of colleges and universities, 76% of corporate leadership feels they are really interested in blacks finding full equality, but no more than 42% of national black leaders feel the same way and

only 44% of black people share this confidence. In one case, the entire leadership community is at serious odds with the estimate given by black people: the extent to which interfaith organizations, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews is really interested in black equality. Corporate leaders are most generous, with 75% giving such interfaith groups high marks, followed by 71% of the community leaders and 69% of national black leaders. However, only 29% of all blacks share this praiseworthy view, although 37% simply have no opinion at all on the matter.

L-9 LEADERSHIP ASSESSMENT OF GROUPS
INTERESTED IN SEEING BLACKS ACHIEVE FULL EQUALITY

Q.: Would you tell me if you feel each of the following groups and organizations has been really interested in seeing blacks achieve full equality in the U.S.?

	Total	Community Leaders	Community Leaders		Corporate Leaders	National Black Leaders
			White	Black		
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Interfaith organizations						
Really interested	72	71	72	73	75	69
Indifferent	16	15	13	27	15	20
Tried to prevent	4	3	3	-	2	8
Not sure	8	11	12	-	8	3
Universities and colleges						
Really interested	68	72	79	9	76	42
Indifferent	27	26	18	91	20	46
Tried to prevent	4	2	2	-	3	12
Not sure	1	-	1	-	1	-
Federal government						
Really interested	66	67	72	27	78	41
Indifferent	29	29	23	73	18	51
Tried to prevent	*	-	-	-	-	2
Not sure	5	4	5	-	4	6
U.S. Supreme Court						
Really interested	66	67	72	37	78	41
Indifferent	27	28	25	36	17	47
Tried to prevent	3	2	-	18	1	8
Not sure	4	3	3	9	4	4
U.S. Army						
Really interested	64	69	73	33	62	57
Indifferent	24	19	16	56	27	29
Tried to prevent	7	6	5	11	7	10
Not sure	5	6	6	-	4	4
Television						
Really interested	56	70	73	36	56	24
Indifferent	37	28	25	64	35	60
Tried to prevent	5	1	1	-	5	14
Not sure	2	1	1	-	4	2
Banks						
Really interested	24	20	22	-	35	12
Indifferent	54	61	58	91	46	54
Tried to prevent	16	10	10	9	13	34
Not sure	6	9	10	-	6	-
U.S. Congress						
Really interested	53	61	67	18	65	10
Indifferent	39	32	26	73	30	71
Tried to prevent	3	3	2	9	-	10
Not sure	5	4	5	-	5	9
Professional schools						
Really interested	52	53	57	10	63	28
Indifferent	34	33	29	80	26	53
Tried to prevent	11	9	8	10	9	19
Not sure	3	5	6	-	2	-
State government						
Really interested	47	48	53	9	62	12
Indifferent	46	46	42	82	30	76
Tried to prevent	5	3	2	9	3	12
Not sure	2	3	3	-	5	-

L-9 (continued)

	Total	Community Leaders	Community Leaders		Corporate Leaders	National Black Leaders
			White	Black		
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspapers						
Really interested	46	48	50	18	59	16
Indifferent	44	47	44	82	30	67
Tried to prevent	5	1	1	-	5	16
Not sure	5	4	5	-	6	1
Catholic Church						
Really interested	42	43	43	36	45	37
Indifferent	38	33	32	55	39	46
Tried to prevent	4	5	4	9	2	8
Not sure	16	19	21	-	14	9
Large corporations						
Really interested	42	35	37	18	63	14
Indifferent	51	60	57	82	32	72
Tried to prevent	5	4	4	-	4	10
Not sure	2	1	2	-	1	4
Jewish groups						
Really interested	41	34	35	27	50	39
Indifferent	32	39	35	73	26	31
Tried to prevent	10	7	8	-	9	16
Not sure	17	20	22	-	15	14
Local government						
Really interested	32	32	34	9	39	18
Indifferent	54	56	55	64	46	63
Tried to prev	9	6	4	27	10	14
Not sure	5	6	7	-	5	5
White Protestant churches						
Really interested	27	27	29	-	37	6
Indifferent	48	46	45	73	41	65
Tried to prevent	16	14	13	27	14	23
Not sure	9	13	13	-	8	6
Labor unions						
Really interested	26	28	30	-	24	27
Indifferent	38	41	34	100	35	39
Tried to prevent	27	19	22	-	34	29
Not sure	9	12	14	-	7	5
Local police						
Really interested	15	21	21	9	15	4
Indifferent	48	51	52	46	49	40
Tried to prevent	31	19	17	45	31	56
Not sure	6	9	10	-	5	-
Small local companies						
Really interested	13	15	16	-	14	6
Indifferent	57	59	59	64	55	57
Tried to prevent	23	16	15	36	25	35
Not sure	7	10	10	-	6	2
Local real estate companies						
Really interested	9	17	18	-	2	6
Indifferent	32	36	34	46	33	21
Tried to prevent	52	40	40	54	55	69
Not sure	7	7	8	-	10	4

*Less than 0.5%.

Observation:

The corporate leadership group tends by and large to be quite sanguine about what the establishment is doing to improve the lot of blacks in America. Neither community leaders nor black leaders, nor for that matter blacks themselves, feel nearly as sure such dedication is really there. If the corporate leadership is in fact correct in its estimate, then an obviously poor job has been done in communicating to the black community. But, if corporate leadership is wrong, then the leadership is leaving itself open to be hit from the blind side when blacks take up their protests and tactics of pressure in the months and years ahead.

However, there is one area in which the entire leadership community -- both black and white -- is in far greater agreement with black leaders and blacks themselves than the rank and file of whites: the extent to which there is discrimination against blacks. The following table graphically illustrates this point.

L-13
B-14
W-14

EXTENT TO WHICH LEADERS, WHITES, AND BLACKS FEEL THAT BLACKS ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

Q.: Let me ask you about some specific areas of life in this country. Tell me for each if you feel most blacks are discriminated against or not in that area in this country.

	Total Leaders			Blacks			Whites		
	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %	Discriminated Against %	Not So %	Not Sure %
In getting decent housing	74	22	4	58	37	5	23	71	6
In getting promoted into managerial jobs	69	29	2	73	19	8	28	59	13
In the way they are treated by the local police	64	26	10	65	23	12	17	68	15
In getting white collar jobs	62	35	3	74	19	7	27	63	10
In getting skilled labor jobs	67	29	4	68	26	6	22	70	8
In the wages they are paid	52	45	3	61	27	12	16	76	8
In getting into labor unions	51	37	12	39	39	22	10	69	21
In getting a quality education	49	49	2	43	50	7	8	89	3
In the way their children are treated by white teachers	42	41	17	43	33	24	8	81	11
In the way they are treated on welfare	34	47	19	49	30	21	7	80	13
In getting unskilled labor jobs	23	77	*	37	56	7	8	87	5

*Less than 0.5%.

Here it is abundantly clear that the leadership community, which in this survey was dominantly white, shares black concern about discrimination in getting decent housing, in getting promoted into managerial jobs, in the way blacks are treated by the local police, in getting white collar jobs, in getting skilled labor jobs, and in the wages they are paid. The leadership is more concerned than blacks about discrimination against blacks in admission to labor unions and in the quality of education their children receive. The one area where the leadership sharply parts company with blacks is in the extent to which blacks are victims of discrimination when they are on welfare.

Observation:

If the country's community, corporate, and black leadership feels that blacks are widely discriminated against, as, indeed, blacks themselves feel they are, one must then ask the question if the dominantly white leadership has taken upon itself to communicate such a condition to the mass of the white public. Clearly, by their answers in this survey, the whites simply have not heard much lately about just how discrimination works against blacks. Black leadership feels more strongly than any other group, including blacks themselves, that their people are being victimized by discrimination in every area asked about. But the missing link in terms of being heard in this case may not be the black leaders so much as their white counterparts who largely share the same views, but do not communicate them.

L-14a It does not come as a surprise that while white community leaders favored the Bakke case decision by the high court by a substantial 77-17%, a 64-34% majority of national black leaders opposed it. However, although by 55-35%, a majority of community leaders feel that the Bakke case will have either no real effect or will actually furth[illegible] the intent of the affirmative

action principle, national black leaders feel by a lopsided 74-21% margin that Bakke will hinder affirmative action progress. It is striking that corporate leaders feel by 62-37% that the Bakke decision will not mean a slowdown in hiring of blacks and other minorities. And, community leaders believe by 54-37% that "with the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities to adjust
L-15a better and become more productive." And, by 66-29%, a sizable majority of the business leaders favored the AT&T case, which reaffirmed the priority of affirmative action over seniority rights.

L-14c

LEADERSHIP ASSESSMENT OF EFFECT OF BAKKE DECISION ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Q.: Whether you agree or not with this interpretation of the Bakke case, do you feel the Supreme Court's decision will further the intent of affirmative action, or do you feel it will hinder the progress of affirmative action?

	Total Leaders	Community Leaders	Community Leaders		Corporate Leaders	National Black Leaders
			White	Black		
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Further the intent	34	43	47	18	31	21
Hinder progress	44	36	33	64	38	74
No effect	17	12	14	-	30	5
Not sure	5	9	6	18	1	-

L-14d

LEADERSHIP OPINION ON CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL QUOTAS NOT BEING ALLOWED

Q.: If racial quotas will not be allowed by the courts do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

	Total Leaders	Community Leaders	Community Leaders		Corporate Leaders	National Black Leaders
			White	Black		
	%	%	%	%	%	%
In business and education without set quotas there will be a slowing down in hiring of blacks and other minorities.						
Agree	53	49	45	82	37	91
Disagree	44	43	48	-	62	9
Not sure	3	8	7	18	1	-
With quotas out of the way, courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing that blacks and other minorities really have opportunities opened up to them.						
Agree	37	43	47	18	40	19
Disagree	52	43	39	73	50	73
Not sure	11	14	14	9	10	8
With the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities adjust better and become more productive.						
Agree	36	54	57	27	31	8
Disagree	54	37	34	64	56	89
Not sure	10	9	9	9	13	3
Unless quotas are used blacks and other minorities just won't get a fair shake.						
Agree	35	24	18	73	26	79
Disagree	60	69	76	18	74	15
Not sure	5	7	6	9	-	6

L-15c It is significant that by 78-19%, community leaders agree that "after years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education." An even larger 87-10% of corporate leaders agrees with this view. In addition, by 88-12% among corporate leaders and 81-17% among national black leaders, the prevailing view is that "as long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job." And, by 56-36% among community leaders and a higher 69-29% among business leaders, there is agreement with the claim that "if there are no affirmative action programs helping women and minorities in employment and education, then these groups will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future." At the same time, by 55-31% among community leaders and a much higher 74-24% among corporate leaders, there is solid rejection of the claim that "once affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against white men."

L-15d L-15e Thus, the leaders favor affirmative action programs for blacks in industry by 86-9% and by 80-11% in higher education. Comparable majorities feel the same about women, the physically handicapped, and Hispanics.

Also in the court area, by 58-35% among community leaders and

L-15j by 57-32% among corporate leaders, there is agreement with the U.S. Supreme Court decision of a few years ago which "in effect, said that it was entirely right for certain government agencies to create housing for blacks in the Chicago suburbs, rather than in the racially segregated public housing system in the city."

Finally, the ultimate irony emerged in a question which asked the three key leadership groups if they felt that anti-black feeling was on the rise in the country:

L-16

LEADERS' ESTIMATE WHETHER OR NOT ANTI-BLACK FEELING IS RISING IN THE COUNTRY

Q.: All in all, do you feel that anti-black feeling is on the rise in this country today, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

	Total Leaders %	Community Leaders %	Corporate Leaders %	National Black Leaders %
On the rise	27	19	16	64
Diminishing	34	40	41	8
About the same	38	38	43	28
Not sure	1	3	-	-

Observation:

Once more it is abundantly clear that national black leaders are convinced that the attitudes of the white majority toward blacks have deteriorated in recent times. Other leaders are far less convinced of this, with substantial numbers of them feeling that anti-black sentiment is actually diminishing. This study demonstrates that anti-black feeling certainly has not been purged from white American consciousness. By the same token, however, the study has demonstrated beyond any doubt that whites are once more ready to see that programs such as affirmative action are made to work and that blacks are given a better chance to make it on equal terms. The underlying predication of black leadership that things have fallen back has led them to conclude that now is not the time to rally their people and important parts of the white community to the cause of real instead of rhetorical promises of progress for blacks. This loss of faith and confidence by black leaders is certainly one of the keys to explaining why on legislation

> and indeed, in many parts of the establishment, there has not been more action or attention given to the black quest for nothing short of full equality and full integration.

Leadership Attitudes Toward Women

L-1c Although by 89-2%, a majority of the leaders in this study feel that things for most women today are better than they were 10 years ago, the leaders demonstrate a keen awareness of discrimination which still exists against women in this country.

By 76-22%, the community leaders feel that women are discriminated against in the wages they are paid, a view shared by a 74-22% majority of corporate leaders. By 66-31% among community leaders and by 70-26% among business leaders, there is acknowledgement that women are discriminated against in getting promoted to managerial jobs. Thus, by an overwhelming 76-19% among community leaders and by 83-13% among corporate leaders, support is given to those efforts trying to "strengthen and change women's status
L-1d in society." The leadership group as a whole feels that the pace of change
L-1e to give women their full rights has been about the right pace. The leadership is more behind the women's movement than the rank and file of the public, who are sympathetic to its main objectives.

By significant margins, black leaders are even more supportive than other leaders.

L-1a

LEADERSHIP OPINION ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Q.: Do you feel that in the following areas women are discriminated against or not around here?

	Total Leaders	Community Leaders	Community Leaders		Corporate Leaders	National Black Leaders
			White	Black		
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Wages						
Discriminated against	79	76	75	91	74	98
Not discriminated against	17	22	22	9	22	-
Not sure	4	2	3	-	4	2
Getting promoted into managerial jobs						
Discriminated against	74	66	63	91	70	98
Not discriminated against	23	31	34	-	26	2
Not sure	3	3	3	9	4	-
Getting skilled labor jobs						
Discriminated against	68	63	60	91	61	91
Not discriminated against	28	34	37	9	33	6
Not sure	4	3	3	-	6	3
Getting credit, loans, and mortgages						
Discriminated against	53	55	51	82	34	83
Not discriminated against	29	29	30	18	37	11
Not sure	18	16	19	-	29	6
Being able to combine family and work if they need or want to						
Discriminated against	49	48	49	46	34	79
Not discriminated against	43	43	43	36	59	15
Not sure	8	9	8	18	7	6
Getting into labor unions						
Discriminated against	37	30	31	18	34	57
Not discriminated against	36	33	31	46	45	25
Not sure	27	37	38	36	21	18
Jobs benefits such as pensions and health insurances						
Discriminated against	27	25	23	36	21	44
Not discriminated against	64	64	65	55	78	39
Not sure	9	11	12	9	1	17
Getting a quality education						
Discriminated against	15	13	14	-	7	36
Not discriminated against	81	85	83	100	89	59
Not sure	4	2	3	-	4	5

Leadership Attitudes Toward Hispanics

Community and corporate leaders tend to be far more aware of discrimination against Spanish-Americans than is the public generally. For

L-2a instance, in the case of corporate leaders, by 69-24%, a majority feel that Hispanics are discriminated against in getting decent housing, by 65-31% that they are victims of prejudice in getting skilled labor jobs, by 59-16% that they are victims of discrimination in the way they are treated by the local police, and by 46-43% that they are discriminated against in the wages they are paid.

There is no doubt that the Spanish-American community can expect to receive much support from the mainstream of leadership in this country -- more, in fact, than from the rank and file of the public, who simply have not been aware of the need for special efforts to integrate this group into a new era of opportunity on a more equal basis.

LEADERSHIP OPINION ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SPANISH-AMERICANS

Q.: Let me ask you about some specific areas of life in this country. For each of the following, do you feel that Spanish-Americans are discriminated against or not in that area?

	Total Leaders %	Community Leaders %	Corporate Leaders %
In getting skilled labor jobs			
Discriminated against	68	58	65
Not discriminated against	25	31	31
Not sure	7	11	4
In getting decent housing			
Discriminated against	68	53	69
Not discriminated against	25	38	24
Not sure	7	9	7
In getting promoted into managerial jobs			
Discriminated against	67	59	62
Not discriminated against	24	31	28
Not sure	9	10	10
In getting white collar jobs			
Discriminated against	66	57	59
Not discriminated against	26	29	36
Not sure	8	14	5
In the wages they are paid			
Discriminated against	59	52	46
Not discriminated against	31	33	43
Not sure	10	15	11
In the way they are treated by the local police			
Discriminated against	56	35	58
Not discriminated against	23	39	16
Not sure	21	26	26
In getting a quality education			
Discriminated against	53	39	51
Not discriminated against	37	50	36
Not sure	10	11	13
In the way their children are treated by non-Spanish teachers			
Discriminated against	43	30	38
Not discriminated against	27	44	22
Not sure	28	26	40
In getting into labor unions			
Discriminated against	39	34	32
Not discriminated against	34	36	39
Not sure	27	30	29
In the way they are treated on welfare			
Discriminated against	28	22	13
Not discriminated against	38	48	40
Not sure	34	30	47
In getting unskilled labor jobs			
Discriminated against	18	17	11
Not discriminated against	74	70	83
Not sure	8	13	6

Leadership Attitudes Toward Jews

While 53% of the leaders do not feel Jews are discriminated against, a substantial 39% feel they are. This latter figure is much higher than the 7% of the public who go along with the claim Jews are discriminated against.

Nonetheless, the study turned up some of the same phenomena among the leadership groups as was evident with the public, especially in believing many of the stereotypes about Jews. For example, by 54-36%, a majority of corporate leaders feel that "Jews are irritating because they are too aggresive," a view shared by an even higher 65-23% of national black leaders. And when asked if they agreed with the charge that "when it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money," corporate leaders divide by the narrowest of margins, 49-48%, that they disagree. A 67-19% majority of national black leaders feel that "most of the slumlords are Jewish." They also feel by 81-13% that most Jews will choose money over people, and by 50-39% that "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America."

By the same token, over 8 in 10 of the leaders of all groups surveyed feel that "Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries," and a majority of all the leaders feel that "Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people." And 3 in every 4 leaders of all groups feel that "the same people who would like to keep Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down."

Obviously, Jews have more trouble with black leadership than others, but there is still a lingering strain of anti-Semitism that is not far below the surface among all leaders in the U.S. in the late 1970's, as, indeed, is the case with the public.

Leadership Attitudes Toward Catholics

L-18b By an overwhelming 90-8%, the leaders feel that Catholics are not discriminated against in America. And for every person who feels that anti-Catholic sentiment is on the rise, there are 9 leaders who feel it is diminishing, although 44% still feel it remains where it has been in the past.

L-18c While there is general acknowledgement among these leaders that "Catholics are deeply religious," a 62-28% majority rejects the claim that "Catholics have a better attitude toward racial minorities than others." However, by an even larger 78-13%, the leaders reject the charge that "Catholics are more prejudiced against racial minorities than others." More than any other leadership group, national black leaders tend to feel by 52-46% that "Catholics have suffered discrimination because of their religion." But, by a 52-44% margin, black leaders also feel that "Catholics tend to be narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma." And by 54-40%, the leaders as a whole feel that "Catholics tend to favor their own."

So, albeit to a lesser extent than with Jews, Catholics face some anti-Catholic sentiment at the leadership level. Corporate leaders tend to be most free of this feeling, but this still does not mean that anti-Catholic attitudes have disappeared and are not latent at the leadership level.

APPENDIX A:

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted with three questionnaires, one for the white public surveyed, one for the black public, and one for the leadership groups. Copies of all three are at the back of this volume.

The questionnaires employed three basic types of questions: closed-end questions, in which people were asked to choose between specified options; open-end questions, in which people could express themselves in their own words; and projective questions, in which people were asked to agree or disagree with set propositions that were positively or negatively inclined. The projective questions generally stated a positive and then a negative concept in sequence in order not to load the series.

Interviewing for this study was done between October 8 and 22, 1978.

How the Survey Was Conducted

Public Sample Design: For this study, a national cross-section of the American public was randomly selected, as well as an oversampling of blacks. The national cross-section included 200 sample points throughout the country, and at each sample point respondents from 8 households were interviewed; the black oversample included 100 sample points, with 9 respondents interviewed in each sample point. At each household the respondent was chosen by means of a random selection pattern, geared to the number of adults of each sex living in that household. All told 2,405 people were interviewed: 1,673 whites and 732 blacks.

Because it was clearly important to be able to examine Jewish attitudes in some detail, and because Jews represent only 3% of the population,

it was necessary to supplement the number of Jewish interviews that would be conducted in the cross-section. A special oversample of Jews, 32 sample points, with 7 interviews in each, was therefore developed using data on the distribution of the Jewish population drawn from the American Jewish Yearbook. A total of 281 interviews were conducted with Jews in the cross-section and oversample. Because this number represented too large a proportion of the total number of interviews, statistical weights were applied to reduce the Jewish proportion to 3%, its actual proportion in the population.

In essence, this particular Harris sampling procedure was designed to produce a national cross-section which accurately reflects the actual population of the country 18 years of age and over living in households, as well as to increase the total number of blacks so as to reduce the sampling error for data relative to blacks.

It should be understood, however, that the national sample was a sample of the adult civilian population of the continental United States. Alaska and Hawaii were not represented, nor were those in prisons or hospitals. The sample was based on updated census information on the population of each state in the country, and on the population living in standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's) and in more rural areas throughout the country.

Stratification within the sample insured it would reflect, within one percentage point, the actual proportions of those living in the country in different regions, and in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. Within each stratum the selection of the ultimate sampling unit (a cluster of

adjacent households) was achieved through a series of steps, a process which is technically called multi-stage cluster sampling. First states, then counties, and then minor civil divisions (cities, towns, townships) were selected proportional to census estimates of their respective household populations.

Maps of the selected civil divisions were drawn in the Harris New York office and were partitioned by segments containing approximately the same number of households. Interviewers in the field, provided with detailed area maps, then interviewed members of households in at least one of the segments in each civil division of the sample.

The Leadership Sample Design: A total of 265 leaders were interviewed throughout the country. The 110 community leaders were drawn from 8 different categories:

-- Public officials, political
-- Educators
-- Labor
-- Religion
-- Communications
-- Non-profit organizations
-- Minority, ethnic, and dissident groups
-- Business

Within each of these categories, specific types of organizations and groups were set out for the interviewers, who, within the confines of pre-determined quotas for each category, chose individuals within these

organizations and groups to be interviewed.

It is extremely difficult to say with any assurance that one has a truly representative sample of community leadership in the country. Defining and locating who the leaders are is inevitably an imprecise procedure. What our method does accomplish, however, is the development of a leadership sample which represents the diversity -- both geographic and by category -- of community leaders in the United States.

The names of the 102 corporate leaders' companies were randomly drawn from the Fortune 1000 list of major corporations. Names of specific individuals responsible for corporate communications, civic affairs, and/or human relations within these companies were obtained, letters were sent introducing the study, and interviews were conducted by specially trained executive interviewers in the offices of these leaders.

Similar procedures were used to contact the 53 national black leaders, whose organizations were selected randomly from a number of source directories.

Questionnaire Development and Interviewing: The actual questionnaire used to interview the public was modified and improved from the helpful suggestions made by the sponsors. The final questionnaire had the approval of the clients, and, before it was considered ready for use, a small pretest was done.

The pretest was designed not to develop preliminary substantive data but rather to insure that the questions were clearly worded and would be easily understood by the spectrum of possible respondents, and that the

length of the questionnaire was not too long.

The interviews were conducted in person, in the homes of the public respondents, and either in the homes or at the places of business of the leaders. When completed interviews were received, all of the respondents were recontacted to verify that the interviews had actually been done.* Questionnaires were then edited and responses to open-end (unstructured) questions coded in the New York office. The full questionnaire was then keypunched, verified, and put on magnetic tape. Then, using the firm's computer and software program, the data were tabulated.

Throughout the report the results are analyzed both in total and by a number of key subgroups. The following tables define these subgroups and show the number of individuals in each subgroup and the weighted proportion of the total sample it represents:

*Validation sheets listing the respondent name, address, and telephone number (if available) are sent to this office at the same time questionnaires are returned. Those respondents listed who do not have a telephone, or refused to provide a number, are sent a personal letter and return mail form asking five key questions from the study. The validation sheets are then sent to our telephone validation service where attempts are made to contact all listed names on three days at three different times of day. The same five key questions used on the mail validation form are asked by telephone. Those respondents who cannot be reached by telephone are then sent the personal letter and return mail form. If any doubt arises during validation about the authenticity of an interviewer's work, those interviews are dropped from the study.

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS

	Number In Sample(1) #	Unweighted Percentage %	Weighted Percentage %
Total Whites	1,673	100	100
Region (2)			
East	547	33	27
Midwest	440	26	29
South	410	25	27
West	276	16	17
Size of Place			
Cities: central cities in urbanized areas (generally 50,000 or more)	530	32	28
Suburbs: urbanized areas outside central cities	548	33	31
Towns: other urban areas (generally of 2,500 to 49,999)	223	13	16
Rural: anything not included above	372	22	26
Age			
18-29 years	452	27	29
30-49 years	624	37	32
50 and over	592	35	38
Education			
8th grade or less	150	9	11
Some high school, high school graduate	771	46	49
Some college, college graduate	746	45	40
Type of Work			
Professional	317	19	16
Executive/Manager	304	18	15
Skilled labor	421	25	28
White collar	171	10	9
Total Spanish-Americans	86	5	6

(Continued)

(1) Subgroup totals do not always come to 1,673 because of some non-response.

(2) East includes: Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia.

Midwest includes: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

South includes: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

West includes: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS (Continued)

	Number In Sample	Unweighted Percentage	Weighted Percentage
	#	%	%
Total Whites	1,673	100	100
Sex			
Men	823	49	48
Women	850	51	52
Income (Total household income for 1978)			
Under $7,000	248	15	18
$7,000-$14,999	471	28	31
$15,000-$24,999	563	34	32
$25,000 and over	307	18	14
Political Party Affiliation			
Republican	340	20	23
Democrat	733	44	40
Independent	497	30	31
Religion			
Protestant	843	50	60
Catholic	450	27	31
Jewish	281	17	3

(Continued)

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS (Continued)

	Number In Sample(1) #	Unweighted Percentage %	Weighted Percentage %
Total Blacks	732	100	100
Region			
East	210	29	29
Midwest	150	20	20
South	327	45	44
West	45	6	6
Size of Place			
Cities	451	62	62
Suburbs	74	10	10
Towns	88	12	12
Rural	119	16	16
Age			
18-29 years	248	34	34
30-49 years	222	30	34
50 and over	248	34	30
Education			
8th grade or less	142	19	18
Some high school/high school graduate	389	53	54
Some college/college graduate	185	25	26
Type of Work			
Executive/Manager/Professional	119	16	16
White collar	52	7	7
Blue collar	321	44	44
Unemployed	54	7	8
Sex			
Men	360	49	46
Women	372	51	54
Income			
Under $7,000	250	34	34
$7,000-$14,999	247	34	34
$15,000-$24,999	135	18	19
$25,000 and over	40	5	5

(Continued)

(1) Subgroup totals do not always come to 732 because of some non-response.

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS (Continued)

	Number In Sample(1) #	Unweighted Percentage %	Weighted Percentage %
Total Blacks	732	100	100
Political Party Affiliation			
Republican	41	6	5
Democrat	515	70	70
Independent	99	14	14
Religion			
Protestant	593	81	81
Catholic	38	5	5
Other	48	7	6

(Continued)

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS (Continued)

	Number In Sample #	Unweighted Percentage %
Total Leaders	265	100
Total community leaders	110	42
White	96	87
Black	11	10
Total corporate leaders	102	38
Total national black leaders	53	20

APPENDIX B:

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10020

Study No. S2829-B

October 1978

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

Questionnaire No. 5-6-7-8-

Sample Point No. _____
10-11-12-13-14-

Interviewer's Name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

City/Town: _____ County: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

I'm from Louis Harris and Associates, the national public opinion research firm. We are doing a nationwide survey on attitudes toward various groups in the United States. We feel that these are extremely important issues, and would like to know what you and your neighbors really think about them. We've been asking some people in this community some questions, and now would like to ask someone in this household. (IF AGREEABLE:) First, let me see whom I'm to interview here.

HOW TO DETERMINE WHOM YOU ARE TO INTERVIEW IN THIS HOUSEHOLD:

- ASK: How many women/men 18 years or over live here and are at home now? _____ (WRITE IN)

1. If only one woman or man 18 years or over lives here, interview that person, provided your quota for that sex has not been completed.

2. If more than one woman or man 18 years or over lives here, list below all the women OR all the men — NOT BOTH — according to age, the oldest first, then starting at the bottom of the list, move upward until you come to the first "X" next to which you have entered a name (or described a position). The person next to this "X" is the only person you can interview.

- IF MORE THAN ONE WOMAN/MAN 18 YEARS OR OVER, ASK:

Who is the oldest woman/man who lives here and is at home now? And the next oldest? (STARTING WITH THE OLDEST, LIST (BY AGE) EITHER ALL OF THE WOMEN OR ALL OF THE MEN -- NOT BOTH — NOW AT HOME)

EITHER WOMEN OR MEN

Identify by name or position in the household (Women — wife, mother, daughter, boarder, etc.) (Men — husband, father, son, boarder, etc.)	AGE
1. X _____	_____
2. X _____	_____
3. X _____	_____

Respondent's name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Address: _____

City/Town: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone area code: _____ Telephone No. _____

Date of interview: _____ Time (o'clock) _____

1a. First, I'd like to ask you some questions about women and women's rights. Do you feel that in their (READ LIST), women are discriminated against or not around here? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

1b. Do you feel women are better off in their (READ LIST) than they were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as they were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	1a. Discriminated Against	1a. Not Discriminated Against	1a. Not Sure	1b. Better	1b. Worse	1b. Same	1b. Not Sure
1. Wages	(17(-1	-2	-3	(25(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Getting skilled labor jobs	(18(-1	-2	-3	(26(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Getting a quality education	(19(-1	-2	-3	(27(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. Getting promoted into managerial jobs	(20(-1	-2	-3	(28(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. Getting credit, loans and mortgages	(21(-1	-2	-3	(29(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. Getting into labor unions	(22(-1	-2	-3	(30(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. Job benefits such as pensions and health insurance	(23(-1	-2	-3	(31(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Being able to combine family and work if they need or want to	(24(-1	-2	-3	(32(-1	-2	-3	-4

1c. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you think things for most women are better, worse, or about the same?

Better.....(33(-1
Worse..... -2
About the same..... -3
Not sure..... -4

1d. There has been much talk about changing women's status in society. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?

Favor.....(34(-1
Oppose..... -2
Not sure..... -3

1e. Do you feel that women have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace in their efforts to strengthen and change their status in society?

Too fast.....(35(-1
Too slow..... -2
About the right pace..... -3
Not sure..... -4

2a. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about people of Spanish origin, those Spanish-Americans whose family origins are in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, and other Spanish-speaking countries. First, let me ask you about some specific areas of life around here. Tell me for each if you feel that Spanish-Americans are discriminated against or not in that area around here. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against	Not Sure
1. In getting a quality education	(36(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
2. In getting decent housing	(37(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
3. In getting unskilled labor jobs	(38(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
4. In getting skilled labor jobs	(39(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
5. In getting white collar jobs	(40(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
6. In getting promoted into managerial jobs	(41(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
7. In the way they are treated on welfare	(42(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
8. In getting into labor unions	(43(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
9. In the way they are treated by the local police	(44(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
10. In the wages they are paid	(45(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
11. In the way their children are treated by non-Spanish teachers	(46(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3

2b. Do you consider yourself of Spanish origin, or not?

Of Spanish origin	(47(___ -1	(SKIP TO 3a)
Not of Spanish origin	___ -2	(ASK 2c-e)
Refused/Not sure	___ -3	(SKIP TO 3a)

(ASK ALL NON-SPANISH-AMERICANS -- SKIP SPANISH AMERICANS TO 3a)

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "A")

2c. On this card are some statements which have been made about Spanish-Americans as a group. As I read the number next to each statement, please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ NUMBERS ONLY, AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Spanish-Americans have worked hard for a better life here	(48(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
2. Spanish-Americans don't try to learn English	(49(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
3. Spanish-Americans are deeply religious	(50(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
4. Spanish-Americans are highly emotional and apt to fly off the handle	(51(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
5. Spanish-Americans have faced more discrimination in this country than other immigrant groups have	(52(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
6. Spanish-Americans want to live off the hand-out	(53(___ -1	___ -2	___ -3

2d. Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with people of Spanish origin, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Spanish-Americans?

A lot	(54(-1	(ASK 2e)
Some but not a lot	-2	
Hardly any	-3	
None (vol.)	-4	(SKIP TO 3a)
Not sure	-5	(ASK 2e)

2e. All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Spanish-Americans or have you had troubles with them?

Pleasant and easy	(55(-1
Troubles with them	-2
Not sure	-3

(ASK EVERYONE)

3a. I want to ask about how you feel you and your family are personally doing compared to ten years ago. As far as your (READ LIST) goes, do you feel you are better off today than you were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as you were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

3b. Now thinking ahead to five years from now, do you feel in your (READ LIST), you will be better off, worse off, or about the same as you are right now? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	3a. Today				3b. In 5 Years			
	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure
1. Work situation	(56(-1	-2	-3	-4	(64(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Housing accommodations	(57(-1	-2	-3	-4	(65(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Pay	(58(-1	-2	-3	-4	(66(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. Being able to register and vote	(59(-1	-2	-3	-4	(67(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. Being able to get your children educated with white children if you want to	(60(-1	-2	-3	-4	(68(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. Being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if you want to	(61(-1	-2	-3	-4	(69(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. Transportation to and from work	(62(-1	-2	-3	-4	(70(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Getting the proper training and education to get a really good job	(63(-1	-2	-3	-4	(71(-1	-2	-3	-4

3c. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you think things for people like yourself and your family are better, worse, or about the same?

Better	(72(-1
Worse	-2
About the same	-3
Not sure	-4

3a. As far as you personally are concerned, what do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing black people that something should be done about? Anything else?

(73 ____
(74 ____
(75 ____

4a. In what trades or fields do you think blacks are getting a better break these days as far as jobs go? Any others?

(10 ____
(11 ____
(12 ____

4b. Do you feel that if you do the same work as a white you will be paid the same as the white will get for that work, or will you probably get paid less?

Same pay .....(14(____ -1
Less pay ..... ____ -2
Not sure ..... ____ -3

4c. Would you rather work for a company run by a white or by a black, or doesn't it make any difference to you?

White .....(15(____ -1
Black ..... ____ -2
No difference ..... ____ -3
Not sure ..... ____ -4

4d. Have you or has anyone in your family been discriminated against in trying to get ahead on the job or in trying to get a job, or not?

Discriminated against.....(16(____ -1
Not discriminated against..... ____ -2
Not sure ..... ____ -3

5a. In general, if you were to get a house or apartment (flat), the same as a white person, do you feel you would pay the same rent or more than the white person would pay?

Same .....(17(____ -1
More ..... ____ -2
Not sure ..... ____ -3

5b. In living in a neighborhood, if you could find the housing you want and like, would you rather live in a neighborhood with all black families, or in a neighborhood that had both whites and blacks?

All blacks .....(18(____ -1 } (ASK 5c)
Both whites and blacks ..... ____ -2 }
Not sure ..... ____ -3 (SKIP TO 6a)

5c. Why would you rather live in a neighborhood with (ANSWER IN 5b)? Any other reason?

(19 ____
(20 ____
(21 ____

(ASK EVERYONE)

6a. Do you feel that black children would do better or worse if they all went to school along with white children today?

Better	(22	-1
Worse		-2
About the same (vol.)		-3
Not sure		-4

6b. Would you like to see the children in your family go to school with white children or not?

Go with whites	(23	-1
Not go with whites		-2
Already do (vol.)		-3
Makes no difference (vol.)		-4
Not sure		-5

6c. Of course, because of where they live today, many black children go to all-black schools and whites to all-white schools. Would you like to see children in your family be picked up in buses every day so they could go to another part of town to go to school with white children or would that be too hard on the children?

Picked up by bus	(26	-1
Too hard on children		-2
Not sure		-3

6d. Have any of the children in your family been picked up by bus to go to a school with white children, or hasn't that happened?

Been picked up by bus	(27	-1	(ASK 6e)
Not happened		-2	(SKIP TO 6g)
No children in family (vol.)		-3	
Go to private schools (vol.)		-4	
Not sure		-5	

6e. How did the busing of children in your family to go to school with white children work out -- very satisfactory, only partly satisfactory, or not satisfactory?

Very satisfactory	(28	-1	(ASK 6f)
Partly satisfactory		-2	
Not satisfactory		-3	
Not sure		-4	(SKIP TO 6g)

6f. Why do you feel the busing of children in your family was (RESPONSE IN 6e)? Any other reason?

(29 ____
(30 ____
(31 ____

(ASK EVERYONE)

6g. All in all, do you feel children in your family are receiving a better education than white children around here, as good an education as white children get around here, or are they getting not as good an education?

A better education.....(32(____-1
As good as whites.....____-2
Not as good an education.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

7a. Compared to unemployment among white people around here, do you think that unemployment among black people is very much greater, somewhat greater, just about the same, or less?

Very much greater.....(33(____-1
Somewhat greater.....____-2
Just about the same.....____-3
Less.....____-4
Not sure.....____-5

7b. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you feel that unemployment among black youths 17 to 21 years of age has become more of a problem, less of a problem, or remains as much of a problem as it was?

More of a problem.....(34(____-1
Less of a problem.....____-2
As much of a problem.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "B ")

7c. Do you feel that the major responsibility for solving unemployment among blacks and other minorities should fall with the federal government, with state government, with local government, with private business, with the white community in general, or with the black community? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Federal government.....(35(____-1
State government.....____-2
Local government.....____-3
Private business.....____-4
White community in general.....____-5
Black community.....____-6
All (vol.).....____-7
None (vol.).....____-8
Not sure.....____-9

7d. As a result of the experience they are having in the schools they go to or in the lack of jobs for young blacks, do you feel that most black youths you know (READ LIST) or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Is So	Not So	Not Sure
1. Feel pretty hopeless about their chances to make it...(36	___-1	___-2	___-3
2. Feel bitter toward the white-dominated world they live in.....(37	___-1	___-2	___-3
3. Feel justified in ripping off whatever they can get...(38	___-1	___-2	___-3
4. Begin to lose respect for themselves.....(39	___-1	___-2	___-3

8a. Thinking back, do you feel that when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House, the federal government at that time could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

8b. How about under Presidents Nixon and Ford -- do you feel the federal government at that time could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

8c. Now how about today under President Carter -- do you think the federal government can be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

	8a. Under Kennedy/ Johnson	8b. Under Nixon/ Ford	8c. Under Carter
A great deal.....(40	___-1	(41 ___-1	(42 ___-1
Some but not a lot.....	___-2	___-2	___-2
Not much at all.....	___-3	___-3	___-3
Not sure.....	___-4	___-4	___-4

8d. Now let me read you some statements. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. The Democrats usually can be trusted to help blacks, while Republicans don't care much.....(43	___-1	___-2	___-3
2. It makes no difference whether Democrats or Republicans are elected, because blacks will always get the short end of the stick.....(44	___-1	___-2	___-3
3. Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change.....(45	___-1	___-2	___-3
4. With white prejudice on the rise again, all that blacks can do is try to hold on to what gains they have won.....(46	___-1	___-2	___-3
5. The only time blacks make real progress is when they hold public protests and non-violent demonstrations.....(47	___-1	___-2	___-3
6. The only way now that whites will really pay attention to black problems will be when blacks resort to violent demonstrations, even rioting in the streets.....(48	___-1	___-2	___-3

8e. Now suppose for President in the next election in 1980, you found a candidate whose views you agreed with completely on how he would handle inflation, jobs and the economy. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on race relations and issues such as busing or jobs for blacks that you disagreed with completely. Would that make you certainly not vote for that candidate, probably not vote for that candidate, or could you still vote for him?

Certainly not vote for him	(49(	-1
Probably not vote for him		-2
Could still vote for him		-3
Not sure		-4

8f. How possible do you feel it would be to have a black candidate running for President of the United States in the next 10 years -- very possible, somewhat possible, hardly possible, or not at all possible?

Very possible	(50(	-1
Somewhat possible		-2
Hardly possible		-3
Not at all possible		-4
Not sure		-5

8g. If a fully qualified black whose views were acceptable to you were nominated to run for President, how likely do you think you would be to vote for that candidate -- very likely, somewhat likely, hardly likely, or not at all likely?

Very likely	(51(	-1
Somewhat likely		-2
Hardly likely		-3
Not at all likely		-4
Not sure		-5

8h. Do you personally feel that having a black President of the United States would be excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor for (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Excellent	Pretty Good	Only Fair	Poor	No Effect (vol)	Not Sure
1. Race relations here in the United States	(52(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
2. Relations with non-white countries abroad	(53(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
3. Relations with our traditional allies abroad	(54(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
4. Inflation	(55(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
5. Unemployment	(56(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
6. The country as a whole	(57(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "C")

9a. Now for each of the following groups and organizations, would you tell me if you feel it has been really interested in seeing blacks achieve full equality in the U.S., has been indifferent to black equality, or has tried to prevent blacks from achieving full equality. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Really Interested	Indifferent	Tried to Prevent	Not Sure
1. Large corporations	(58(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Newspapers	(59(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Television	(60(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. The U.S. Congress	(61(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. The U.S. Supreme Court	(62(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. The federal government	(63(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. State government	(64(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Local government	(65(-1	-2	-3	-4
9. Local real estate companies	(66(-1	-2	-3	-4
10. White Protestant churches	(67(-1	-2	-3	-4
11. Local police	(68(-1	-2	-3	-4
12. Small local companies	(69(-1	-2	-3	-4
13. Professional schools (law, medicine, etc.)	(70(-1	-2	-3	-4
14. Universities and colleges	(71(-1	-2	-3	-4
15. The U.S. Army	(72(-1	-2	-3	-4
16. The Catholic Church	(73(-1	-2	-3	-4
17. Jewish groups	(74(-1	-2	-3	-4
18. Banks	(75(-1	-2	-3	-4
19. Labor unions	(76(-1	-2	-3	-4
20. Interfaith organizations (such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews)	(77(-1	-2	-3	-4

9b. Do you feel that interfaith organizations made up of leaders of different churches and religious faiths, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, do an excellent, a pretty good, an only fair, or a poor job of helping to fight racial and religious prejudice?

Excellent ..... (78(-1

Pretty good ..... -2

Only fair ..... -3

Poor ..... -4

Not sure ..... -5

10. Generally speaking, do you favor full racial integration, integration in some areas of life or separation of the races?

Full racial integration	(79(	-1
Integration in some areas	____	-2
Separation of races	____	-3
Not sure	____	-4

11a. Do you feel that the black civil rights leaders and organizations of today are ahead of their people, behind their people, or right with them?

Ahead	(80(	-1
Behind	____	-2
Right with them	____	-3
Not sure	____	-4

11b. Do you feel that black ministers and preachers have been outstanding in their work for civil rights for blacks, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Outstanding	(13(	-1
Pretty good		-2
Only fair		-3
Poor		-4
Not sure		-5

11c. Do you miss Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., very deeply, only somewhat, or hardly at all?

Very deeply	(14(	-1
Only somewhat		-2
Hardly at all		-3
Not sure		-4

12. In the long run, how effective do you feel each of the following kinds of black leaders will be in helping blacks achieve equality in this country -- very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective at all? (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not At All	Not Sure
1. Civil rights leaders like those in the NAACP or Urban League	(21(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Elected black officials like Congressmen, Senators and Mayors	(22(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Leaders of black militant groups	(23(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. Black ministers and religious leaders	(24(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. Black political party leaders	(25(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. Black businessmen	(26(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. Black professionals such as doctors and lawyers	(27(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Black sports stars and entertainers	(28(-1	-2	-3	-4

13. Now I want to read you some things people have told us they have felt from time to time. Do you tend to feel or not that (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Feel	Don't Feel	Not Sure
1. The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	(29(-1	-2	-3
2. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	(30(-1	-2	-3
3. What you think doesn't count very much anymore	(31(-1	-2	-3
4. You are left out of things going on around you	(32(-1	-2	-3
5. Most people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself	(33(-1	-2	-3
6. Few people understand how it is to live like you live	(34(-1	-2	-3

INTERVIEWER: TURN QUESTIONNAIRE OVER AND CONTINUE.

14. Let me ask you about some specific areas of life around here. Tell me for each if you feel blacks are discriminated against or not in that area around here. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Discriminated	Not Discriminated	Not Sure
1. In getting a quality education	(35(-1	-2	-3
2. In getting decent housing	(36(-1	-2	-3
3. In getting unskilled labor jobs	(37(-1	-2	-3
4. In getting skilled labor jobs	(38(-1	-2	-3
5. In getting white collar jobs	(39(-1	-2	-3
6. In getting promoted into managerial jobs	(40(-1	-2	-3
7. In the way they are treated on welfare	(41(-1	-2	-3
8. In getting into labor unions	(42(-1	-2	-3
9. In the way they are treated by the local police	(43(-1	-2	-3
10. In the wages they are paid	(44(-1	-2	-3
11. In the way their children are treated by white teachers	(45(-1	-2	-3

15a. Do you or does any member of your immediate family now have contact or not with a white person who is (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

15b. (FOR EACH "HAVE" ITEM IN 15a) Do you feel that the relationship with this white who is ("have" item) is generally pleasant and easy, or is there sometimes trouble due to the difference in race? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH APPLICABLE ITEM)

	15a.			15b.		
	Have	Not Have	Not Sure	Pleasant And Easy	Sometimes Trouble	Not Sure
1. An employer or supervisor at work	(53(-1	-2	-3	(64(-1	-2	-3
2. A co-worker at work	(54(-1	-2	-3	(65(-1	-2	-3
3. A teacher or principal in a school	(55(-1	-2	-3	(66(-1	-2	-3
4. A welfare social worker serving you	(56(-1	-2	-3	(67(-1	-2	-3
5. A neighbor	(57(-1	-2	-3	(68(-1	-2	-3
6. The owner or manager of a retail store	(58(-1	-2	-3	(69(-1	-2	-3
7. A salesperson in a local store	(59(-1	-2	-3	(70(-1	-2	-3
8. A friend socially	(60(-1	-2	-3	(71(-1	-2	-3
9. An officer of a union	(61(-1	-2	-3	(72(-1	-2	-3
10. Someone working for you	(62(-1	-2	-3	(73(-1	-2	-3
11. A policeman in the neighborhood	(63(-1	-2	-3	(74(-1	-2	-3

(ASK EVERYONE)

15c. Is there any white person whom you can really call a close friend, or isn't there one?

Is.....(75(____-1
Is not.....____-2
Not sure.....____-3

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "D")

16. People disagree about why there are differences between blacks and whites. Which one statement on this card comes closest to what you think? (SINGLE RECORD)

1. Most differences are there because they're born different.....(76(____-1
2. Most differences come from the way they are brought up at home.....____-2
3. Most differences come from the different economic and educational opportunities they have in America.....____-3
4. Most differences come from the amount of money they make.....____-4

Not sure.....____-5

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about affirmative action, or programs that are meant to correct the present effects of past discrimination against certain groups.

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "E") (READ COMPLETE QUESTION TO RESPONDENT)

17a. Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision in the Bakke (BAA-KEE) case. A white man, Alan Bakke, claimed that he was refused admission to a University of California medical school because the school automatically set aside 16 out of 100 places in the freshman class for non-whites, even if on their tests the non-whites scored below whites who applied. The Supreme Court decided that Bakke had been the victim of reverse discrimination and should be admitted to the medical school. The Court also decided that such rigid quotas as setting aside 16 out of 100 places for non-whites are not proper or legal. At the same time, the Court made clear that students from less advantaged races may be given special consideration on racial grounds. In effect, then, the Supreme Court decided that strict quotas are out, and affirmative action could be used to make up for past discrimination against racial minorities. All in all, do you personally favor or oppose this U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Bakke case?

Favor.....(15(____-1
Oppose.....____-2
Not sure.....____-3

17b. If racial quotas will not be allowed by the courts, do you agree that (READ LIST), or do you disagree with that? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. In business and education, without set quotas there will be a slowing down in the hiring of blacks and other minorities.....(16	___-1	___-2	___-3
2. With the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities to adjust better and become more productive.....(17	___-1	___-2	___-3
3. Unless quotas are used, blacks and other minorities just won't get a fair shake.....(18	___-1	___-2	___-3
4. With quotas out of the way, the courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing to it that blacks and other minorities really have opportunities opened up to them.....(19	___-1	___-2	___-3

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "F") (READ COMPLETE QUESTION TO RESPONDENT)

17c. Another recent U.S. Supreme Court action concerned an affirmative action program in AT&T involving minorities and women who work for the telephone company. The union at AT&T charged that by giving special training and promotions to minorities and women, white men are victims of reverse discrimination and their seniority rights under the union contract are being violated. The U.S. Supreme Court decided not to review the union's claim of reverse discrimination for white men on promotions, upholding the company's affirmative action program for minorities and women. Do you personally favor or oppose this U.S. Supreme Court decision in the AT&T affirmative action case?

Favor.....(21 ___-1
Oppose.....___-2
Not sure.....___-3

17d. Now let me read you some statements about affirmative action programs in education and employment. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education..	(26(___-1	___-2	___-3
2. Minorities and women have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit.....	(27(___-1	___-2	___-3
3. As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job.....	(28(___-1	___-2	___-3
4. Once affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against white men	(29(___-1	___-2	___-3
5. If there are no affirmative action programs helping women and minorities in employment and education, then these groups will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future.....	(30(___-1	___-2	___-3
6. White men learn faster, are better qualified, and will continue to hold down the better jobs, no matter how many affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started.....	(31(___-1	___-2	___-3

17e. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in industry for (READ LIST) provided there are no rigid quotas? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM) (IF FAVOR QUOTAS, RECORD AS "FAVOR")

17f. Do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in higher education for (READ LIST), provided there are no rigid quotas? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM) (IF FAVOR QUOTAS, RECORD AS "FAVOR")

	17e. Industry				17f. Higher Education			
	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol)	Not Sure	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol)	Not Sure
1. Women.....	(32(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(39(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
2. The physically handicapped	(33(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(40(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
3. Spanish-Americans.....	(34(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(41(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
4. Catholics.....	(35(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(42(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
5. Jews.....	(36(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(43(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
6. Vietnam veterans.....	(37(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(44(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
7. Blacks.....	(38(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(45(___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4

23b. In general, do you feel Jews around here are discriminated against, or not?

Discriminated against	77	-1
Not discriminated against		-2
Not sure		-3

23c. How about anti-Catholic feeling -- do you feel it is on the rise around here, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

On the rise	78	-1
Diminishing		-2
About the same		-3
Not sure		-4

23d. In general, do you feel Catholics around here are discriminated against, or not?

Discriminated against	79	-1
Not discriminated against		-2
Not sure		-3

24a. Did you vote in the presidential election of 1976 when Carter and Ford ran, or didn't you get around to voting then?

Voted	80	-1	(ASK 24b)
Didn't get around to voting		-2	(SKIP TO 24c)
Can't recall		-3	(SKIP TO 24c)

24b. Back in 1976, did you vote for Ford the Republican or Carter the Democrat for president?

Ford	10	-1
Carter		-2
Other (SPECIFY)		
_____		-3
Not sure		-4

(ASK EVERYONE)

24c. Regardless of how you may vote, what do you usually consider yourself -- a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican	11	-1
Democrat		-2
Independent		-3
Other (vol.)		-4
Not sure		-5

24d. Are you registered to vote now?

Registered	12	-1	(ASK 24e, f)
Not registered		-2	(SKIP TO 24g)
Not sure		-3	(SKIP TO 24g)

24e. What are you registered as -- a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

Democrat	13 (	-1
Republican		-2
Other (vol.)		-3
Can't recall		-4

24f. When did you first register to vote?

In past year	14 (	-1
1-2 years ago		-2
3-4 years ago		-3
5-10 years ago		-4
Over 10 years ago		-5
Not sure		-6

(ASK EVERYONE)
24g. In the past, have you tried to register or vote but someone in authority kept you from registering or voting, or hasn't that happened to you?

Tried and kept from registering/voting	15 (	-1
Not happened		-2
Not sure		-3

FACTUAL (TO BE ASKED OF EVERYONE):

F1a. Is the main wage-earner of this household an hourly wage worker, salaried, or self-employed in his/her main job?

Hourly wage worker...16 (____-1
Salaried.....____-2
Self-employed.....____-3 } (ASK F1b)
Retired.....____-4
Unemployed.....____-5

None of the above:

Student.....____-6
Military service.....____-7
Housewife.....____-8 } (SKIP TO F2)
Disabled.....____-9
Other (SPECIFY)

_____..____-0

F1b. What type of work does (did, if retired) the main wage-earner do? (PROBE FULLY, FINDING OUT WHAT THE JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC., IN ORDER TO CATEGORIZE CORRECTLY BELOW)

Professional.....(17(____-1
Manager, official.....____-2
Proprietor (small business).....____-3
Clerical worker.....____-4
Sales worker.....____-5
Skilled craftsman, foreman.....____-6
Operative, unskilled laborer (except farm).....____-7
Service worker.....____-8
Farmer, farm manager, farm laborer..____-9
Other (SPECIFY)

_____...____-0

(ASK EVERYONE)
F2. Are you single, married, widowed, divorced or separated?

Single.....(18(____-1
Married.....____-2
Widowed.....____-3
Divorced.....____-4
Separated.....____-5

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "K")
F3. Would you please look at this card and tell me the age category into which you fall. Just call off the letter next to the proper category.

A. 18 to 20.....(19(____-1
B. 21 to 24.....____-2
C. 25 to 29.....____-3
D. 30 to 34.....____-4
E. 35 to 39.....____-5
F. 40 to 49.....____-6
G. 50 to 64.....____-7
H. 65 and over.....____-8
Refused*.....____-9

* IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, ESTIMATE HIS/HER AGE RECORD FOR "REFUSED" AS WELL AS THE GROUP YOU ESTIMATE.

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "L")
F4. Would you please look at this card and tell me which letter represents the highest grade of school that you actually completed?

C. No formal schooling (0 years)....(20(____-1
D. First through 7th grade (1-7 years of school completed).....____-2
E. 8th grade (8 years of school completed).....____-3
F. Some high school (9-11 years of school completed).....____-4
G. High school graduate (12 years of school completed).....____-5
H. Some college (1-3 years of college completed).....____-6
I. Two year college graduate (completed 2 years community college, etc.).....____-7
J. Four year college graduate (completed 4 years of college).....____-8
K. Post graduate (4 year college graduate and completed at least 1 year of graduate school).....____-9
Refused.....____-0

F5. Are you a member of a labor union, or is any other member of this household a member of a labor union? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Self is member.....(21(____-1
Other is member.....____-2
No union member in household.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "M")

F6. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total household income for 1977. Will you please look at this card and tell me which letter best represents all the money the members of this household either earned or received, before taxes, in 1977. This would include both earned income, such as wage and salary, and unearned income, such as welfare, pension, and income from stocks, bonds, real estate, bank accounts, business ventures, and other investments.

A.	Under $5,000.....	(22(____-1
B.	$5,000 to $6,999.....	____-2
C.	$7,000 to $9,999.....	____-3
D.	$10,000 to $14,999.....	____-4
E.	$15,000 to $19,999.....	____-5
F.	$20,000 to $24,999.....	____-6
G.	$25,000 to $34,999.....	____-7
H.	$35,000 and over.....	____-8
	Not sure/refused*.....	____-9

* IF RESPONDENT "NOT SURE" OR "REFUSED," RECORD FOR "NOT SURE/REFUSED," AND RECORD FOR THE AMOUNT YOU ARE ESTIMATING.

RECORD THE FOLLOWING -- DO NOT ASK:

F7. Ethnic Group or Racial Background:

White.....	(23(____-1
Black.....	____-2
Oriental.....	____-3
Spanish-American (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, etc.).....	____-4
Other (SPECIFY)	
_____ ...	____-5
Not sure.....	____-6

F8. Respondent is:

Male.....	(24(____-1
Female.....	____-2

F9. Length of interview ("X" ONLY ONE):

15 minutes or less.....	(25(____-1
16 minutes to 30 minutes.....	____-2
31 minutes to 45 minutes.....	____-3
46 minutes to 1 hour.....	____-4
1 hr. 1 min. to 1 hr. 15 min.....	____-5
1 hr. 16 min. to 1 hr. 30 min.....	____-6
1 hr. 31 min. to 1 hr. 45 min.....	____-7
1 hr. 46 min. to 2 hours.....	____-8
2 hrs. 1 min. to 2 hrs. 15 min.....	____-9
2 hrs. 16 min. to 2 hrs. 30 min.....	____-0
2 hrs. 31 min. to 2 hrs. 45 min.....	____-x
More than 2 hours 45 minutes.....	____-y

Interviewer's Signature: _____ Date: _____

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

This interview validated by: _____ Date validated: _____

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

INTERVIEWER EVALUATION:

MECHANICALS.....	1	2	3	-
OPEN ENDS.....	1	2	3	-
OVERALL.....	1	2	3	-

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10020

Study No. 52829-L
August 1978

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY -- DO NOT FILL IN:

Questionnaire No. _____ 5-6-7-8-

Sample Point No. _____ 10-11-12-13-14-

Interviewer's name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Respondent's name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Title, position (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Office, organization, company (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Address (PLEASE PRINT): _____

City/Town (PRINT): _____ State (PRINT): _____ Zip Code: _____

Telephone Area Code: _____ Telephone No. _____

Date of interview: _____

_____ _____

INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX AND LEADERSHIP GROUP OF RESPONDENT:

Sex:

Male
Female

Leadership Group:

Community

Public Officials/Political leaders
Educators
Labor
Religious
Communications
Voluntary Organizations
Minorities, Ethnic and Dissident Groups
Business leaders
Consumer/environmental activists

Corporate

National black leadership group

CARD I S2829-

1a. I want to ask about how you feel you and your family are personally doing compared to ten years ago. As far as your (READ LIST) goes, do you feel you are better off today than you were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as you were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

1b. Now thinking ahead to five years from now, if you had to say right now, do you feel in your (READ LIST), you will be better off, worse off, or about the same as you are right now? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	1a. Today				1b. In 5 Years			
	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure
1. Work situation								
2. Housing accomodations								
3. Pay								
4. Being able to register and vote								
5. Being able to get your children educated with white children if you want to								
6. Being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if you want to								
7. Transportation to and from work								
8. Getting proper training and education to get a really good job								

1c. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you think things for people like yourself and your family are better, worse, or about the same?

Better
Worse
About the same
Not sure

1d. As far as you personally are concerned, what do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing black people that something should be done about? Anything else?

1e. Do you think most Americans feel that blacks have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace?

Too fast
Too slow
About right
Not sure

2a. In what trades or fields do you think blacks are getting a better break these days as far as jobs go? Any others?

2b. What trades or fields do you feel are worse as far as giving blacks jobs? Any others?

2c. Compared to ten years ago, do you feel blacks are getting a better break in jobs now, a worse break, or about the same now as ten years ago?

Better break
Worse break
About the same
Not sure

2d. What percentage of black households, would you estimate, would say that someone in their family had been discriminated against in trying to get a job -- 0 to 25%, 26 to 50%, 51 to 75%, or more than 75%?

0-25%
26-50%
51-75%
More than 75%
Not sure

3a. In living in a neighborhood, if they could find the housing they wanted and liked, do you feel most black families would rather live in a neighborhood with all black families, or in a neighborhood that had both whites and blacks?

All blacks
Both whites and blacks
Not sure

3b. Why do you feel most black families would rather live in a neighborhood with (answer in 3a)? Any other reason?

3c. Five years from now, do you think a lot more blacks will be living in white neighborhoods, some but not a lot more, only a few more, or no more than do now?

A lot more
Some, but not a lot more
Only a few more
No more than now
Not sure

4a. All in all, do you feel that most black children are receiving a better education, as good an education as the white children in their communities, or are they getting not as good an education?

A better education
As good as whites
Not as good an education
Not sure

4b. Do you feel that black children would do better or worse if they all went to school along with white children today?

Better
Worse
About the same (vol.)
Not sure

4c. Do you feel most black families would like to see their children go to school with white children or not?

Go with whites
Not go with whites
Not sure

4d. How do you feel about the busing of black children to predominantly white schools and the busing of white children to predominantly black schools -- do you feel that busing is the only solution to the problem of racially imbalanced schools, one solution but not the most effective one, or not a solution at all?

The only solution
Not the most effective solution
Not a solution at all
Not sure

4e. Why do you say that busing is (answer in 4d)? Any other reason?

5a. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you feel that unemployment among black youths 17 to 21 years of age has become more of a problem, less of a problem, or remains as much of a a problem as it was?

More of a problem
Less of a problem
As much of a problem
Not sure

5b. How about unemployment among blacks in general -- do you perceive it as more of a problem, less of a problem, or as much of a problem as it was ten years ago?

More of a problem
Less of a problem
As much of a problem
Not sure

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "A")
5c. Do you feel that the major responsibility for solving unemployment among blacks and other minorities should fall with the federal government, with state government, with local government, with private business, with the white community in general, or with the black community? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Federal government
State government
Local government
Private business
White community in general
Black community
All (vol.)
None (vol.)
Not sure

6a. Thinking back, do you feel that when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House, the federal government could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

6b. How about under Presidents Nixon and Ford -- do you feel the federal government could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

6c. Now how about today under President Carter -- do you think the federal government can be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

	6a. Under Kennedy-Johnson	6b. Under Nixon/Ford	6c. Under Carter
A great deal			
Some but not a lot			
Not much at all			
Not sure			

(ASK ONLY BLACK RESPONDENTS)
6d. Thinking back to when Kennedy and Johnson were President, did you personally have more hope then that things would get better for blacks, or do you have more hope today?

More hope under Kennedy/Johnson
More hope today
Not sure

6e. In the things he has done to help blacks, has President Carter lived up to their expectations or do you feel he has disappointed them and let blacks down?

Lived up to expectations
Let blacks down
Not sure

6f. Now let me read you some statements. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. The Democrats usually can be trusted to help blacks, while Republicans don't care much			
2. It makes no difference if Democrats or Republicans are elected, because blacks will always get the short end of the stick			
3. The federal government has done enough for blacks, and it's about time they stopped getting special treatment			
4. Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change			
5. If the federal government didn't force big companies to hire blacks, those companies would still be reluctant to do so			
6. Blacks have made progress only when laws have been passed or the U.S. Supreme Court ordered an end to segregation			
7. With white prejudice on the rise again, all that blacks can do is to try to hold on to what gains they have won			
8. The only time blacks have made real progress was when they held public protests and non-violent demonstrations			
9. The only way now that whites will really pay attention to black problems will be when blacks resort to violent demonstrations, even rioting in the streets			

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "B")

7. Now for each of the following groups and organizations, would you tell me if you feel they have been really interested in seeing blacks achieve full equality in the U.S., have been indifferent to black demands, or have tried to prevent blacks from achieving full equality. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Really Interested	Indifferent	Tried to Prevent	Not Sure
1. Large corporations				
2. Newspapers				
3. Television				
4. The U.S. Congress				
5. The U.S. Supreme Court				
6. The federal government				
7. State government				
8. Local government				
9. Local real estate companies				
10. White Protestant churches				
11. Local police				
12. Small local companies				
13. Large universities				
14. Small colleges				
15. Professional schools (law, medicine, etc.)				
16. The U.S. Army				
17. The Catholic Church				
18. Jewish groups				
19. White-owned retail stores				
20. Big labor unions				
21. Integration organizations made up of leaders from many different churches and religious faiths				

8a. Generally speaking, do you favor full racial integration, integration in some areas of life, or separation of the races?

Full racial integration
Integration in some areas
Separation of races
Not sure

8b. Do you feel that a majority of blacks in this country favor full racial integration, integration in some areas of life, or separation of the races?

Full racial integration
Integration in some areas
Separation of races
Not sure

8c. How about most whites -- do you feel that a majority of whites in this country favor full racial integration, integration in some areas of life, or separation of the races?

Full racial integration

Integration in some areas

Separation of races

Not sure

9a. Do you feel that the black civil rights leaders of today are ahead of their people, behind their people, or right with them?

Ahead

Behind

Right with them

Not sure

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "C")
9b. Here are some of the best known black leaders and organizations. Which 2 or 3 would you say are most respected by whites in this country? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

9c. And which 2 or 3 of these leaders and organizations do you feel are most respected by blacks? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

	9b. Most Respected By Whites	9c. Most Respected By Blacks
1. NAACP		
2. Andrew Young, Ambassador to the UN		
3. Reverend Jesse Jackson, clergyman and civic leader		
4. Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King		
5. Representative Parren Mitchell, chairman of Congressional black caucus		
6. Vernon Jordan, head of Urban League		
7. Patricia Harris, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development		
8. Representative Barbara Jordan of Texas		
9. Muhammed Ali		
10. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall		
11. Eleanor Holmes Norton, chairperson of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission		
All (vol.)		
None (vol.)		
Not sure		

84. Do you feel that black ministers and preachers have been outstanding in their work for civil rights for blacks, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Outstanding
Pretty good
Only fair
Poor
Not sure

85. Do you tend to agree or disagree that the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was the outstanding black leader in this country?

Agree
Disagree
Not sure

86. If Martin Luther King had lived, do you think things would have been a lot better for blacks, only a little better, or not much different?

A lot better
Only a little better
Not much different
Not sure

(ASK ONLY BLACK RESPONDENTS)
86a. Do you miss Martin Luther King very deeply, only somewhat, or hardly at all?

Very deeply
Only somewhat
Hardly at all
Not sure

(ASK EVERYONE)
87. In the long run, how effective do you feel each of the following kinds of black leaders will be in helping blacks achieve equality in this country -- very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective at all? (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not At All	Not Sure
a. Civil rights leaders like those in the NAACP or Urban League				
b. Elected black officials like Congressmen, Senators and Mayors				
c. Leaders of black militant groups				
d. Black ministers and religious leaders				
e. Black political party leaders				
f. Black businessmen				
g. Black professionals such as doctors and lawyers				
h. Black sports stars and entertainers				

11. Let me ask you about some specific areas of life in this country. Tell me for each if you feel most blacks are discriminated against or not in that area in this country. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Discriminated	Not Discriminated	Not Sure
1. In getting a quality education			
2. In getting decent housing			
3. In getting unskilled labor jobs			
4. In getting skilled labor jobs			
5. In getting white collar jobs			
6. In getting promoted into managerial jobs			
7. In the way they are treated on welfare			
8. In getting into labor unions			
9. In the way they are treated by the local police			
10. In the wages they are paid			
11. In the way their children are treated by white teachers			

12a. As far as their (READ LIST) goes, do you feel women are discriminated against or not in that area in this country? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

12b. Do you feel women are better off in their (READ LIST) than they were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as they were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	12a.			12b.			
	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against	Not Sure	Better	Worse	Same	Not Sure
1. Pay.							
2. Getting skilled labor jobs.							
3. Getting a quality education							
4. Getting promoted into managerial jobs.							
5. Getting credit, loans and mortgages.							
6. Job benefits such as pensions and health insurance.							
7. Getting equal protection under the law with the local police and courts.							
8. Being able to combine family and work if they need or want to							

12c. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you think things for most women are better, worse, or about the same?

Better
Worse
About the same
Not sure

12d. There has been much talk about changing women's status in society today. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today?

Favor
Oppose
Not sure

12e. Do you feel that women have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace in their efforts to strengthen and change their status in society today?

Too fast
Too slow
About the right pace
Not sure

(ASK ALL NON-SPANISH-AMERICANS)
13a. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about people of Spanish origin, these Spanish-Americans whose family origins are in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, and other Spanish-speaking countries. First, let me ask you about some specific areas of life in this country. Tell me for each if you feel that Spanish-Americans are discriminated against or not in that area.

	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against	Not Sure
1. In getting a quality education			
2. In getting decent housing			
3. In getting unskilled labor jobs			
4. In getting skilled labor jobs			
5. In getting white collar jobs			
6. In getting promoted into managerial jobs			
7. In the way they are treated on welfare			
8. In getting into labor unions			
9. In the way they are treated by the local police			

13b. Now let me read you some statements which have been made about Spanish-Americans as a group. For each statement, please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree.

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Spanish-Americans have worked hard for a better life here.			
2. Spanish-Americans don't try to learn English.			
3. Spanish-Americans are proud of their language and family origins.			
4. Spanish-Americans keep untidy homes.			
5. Spanish-Americans are deeply religious.			
6. Spanish-Americans are highly emotional and apt to fly off the handle.			
7. Spanish-Americans have faced more discrimination in this country than other immigrant groups have.			
8. Spanish-Americans want to live off the hand-out.			

14a. Recently the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision on the Bakke (BAA-KEE) case. A white man, Alan Bakke, claimed that he was refused admission to a University of California medical school because the school automatically set aside 16 out of 100 places in the freshman class for non-whites, even if on their tests the non-whites scored below whites who applied. The Supreme Court decided that Bakke had been the victim of reverse discrimination and should be admitted to the medical school. The Court also decided that such rigid quotas as setting aside 16 out of 100 places for non-whites is not proper or legal. At the same time, the Court made clear that students from less advantaged races may be given special consideration on racial grounds. In effect, then, the Supreme Court decided that strict quotas are out, but affirmative action is to be encouraged to make up for past discrimination against racial minorities. All in all, from what you've read or heard, do you tend to agree or disagree with this interpretation of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Bakke case?

Agree
Disagree
Not sure

14b. Why do you (answer in 14a) with this interpretation of the Bakke case?

14c. Whether you agree or not with this interpretation of the Bakke case, do you feel the Supreme Court's decision will further the intent of affirmative action in education, or do you feel it will hinder the progress of affirmative action in education?

Further the intent
Hinder progress
No effect (vol.)
Not sure

14d. If racial quotas will not be allowed by the courts, do you agree that (READ LIST), or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. In business and education, without set quotas there will be a slowing down in the hiring of minorities			
2. With the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate in helping minorities to adjust better and become more productive			
3. Unless quotas are used, blacks and other minorities just won't get a fair shake			
4. With quotas out of the way, the courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing to it that blacks and other minorities really have opportunities opened up to them			

14e. Do you feel that the Bakke decision will have an effect on affirmative action programs in fields outside education, or not?

Will have an effect (ASK 14f)
Will not } (SKIP TO 14g)
Not sure }

14f. What effect do you feel the Bakke decision will have on affirmative action programs outside the field of education?

(ASK EVERYONE)

14g. All in all, do you personally favor or oppose the Supreme Court's decision in the Bakke case?

Favor
Oppose
Not sure

15a. Another recent U.S. Supreme Court decision concerned an affirmative action program in AT&T involving minorities and women who work for the telephone company. The union at AT&T charged that by giving special training and promotions to minorities and women, white men were victims of reverse discrimination and their seniority rights under the union contract were being violated. The U.S. Supreme Court decided against the union's claim of reverse discrimination for white men on promotions, upholding the company's affirmative action program for minorities and women. Do you personally favor or oppose this U.S. Supreme Court decision in the AT&T affirmative action case?

Favor
Oppose
Not sure

15b. Why do you (answer in 15a) the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the AT&T affirmative action case?

15c. Now let me read you some statements about affirmative action programs in education and employment. For each, tell me if you think most Americans tend to agree or disagree. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. After 300 years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education			
2. Minorities and women have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit			
3. As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job			
4. Once affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against white men			
5. If there are no affirmative action programs helping women and minorities in employment and education, then these groups will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future			
6. White men learn faster, are better qualified, and will continue to hold down the better jobs, no matter who many affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started			

15d. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in industry for (READ LIST), provided there are no rigid quotas? (RECORD BELOW)

15e. Do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in higher education for (READ LIST), provided there are not rigid quotas? (RECORD BELOW)

	15d.			15e.		
	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
1. Blacks						
2. Women						
3. The physically handicapped						
4. Spanish-Americans						
5. Catholics						
6. Jews						
7. Vietnam veterans						

15f. Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think blacks are given special consideration and hired before whites for jobs frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never at all? (RECORD BELOW)

15g. How about in higher education -- do you think blacks are given special consideration and admitted before whites in higher education frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never at all? (RECORD BELOW)

	15f. In Jobs	15g. In Higher Education
Frequently		
Occasionally		
Hardly ever		
Never at all		
Not sure		

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "D")
15h. Here are some groups for whom affirmative action programs have been designed or for whom programs have been discussed or proposed. For which of these groups, if any, does your company or organization have affirmative action programs? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

Blacks
Women
The physically handicapped

Spanish-Americans
Catholics
Jews

Vietnam veterans
All (vol.)
None (vol.)
Not sure

15i. Do you feel it is useful for a board of directors of a company or organization to have as members people who can speak for the interests of (READ LIST), or don't you feel that way?

	Useful To Have Members	Not Useful To Have Members	Not Sure
1. Ethnic minorities			
2. Religious groups			
3. Women			
4. General public			

16. Why do you feel that way? Any other reason?

17a. Do you feel that anti-Jewish feeling is on the rise today, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

On the rise
Diminishing
About the same
Not sure

17b. Why do you feel that way? Any other reason?

17c. In general, do you feel Jews in the United States are discriminated against or not?

Discriminated against
Not discriminated against
Not sure

17d. Why do you feel that way? Any other reason?

17e. Now let me read you some statements which have been made about Jews. For each, tell me if you feel most Americans tend to agree or disagree with the statement. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries			
2. Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive			
3. Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people			
4. Most of the slum lords are Jewish			
5. Jews have to work harder because they are discriminated against in so many places			
6. When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money			
7. The same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down			
8. Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America			

18a. Do you feel that anti-Catholic feeling is on the rise today, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

On the rise
Diminishing
About the same
Not sure

18b. Why do you feel that way? Any other reason?

18c. In general, do you feel Catholics in the United States are discriminated against or not?

Discriminated against
Not discriminated against
Not sure

18d. Why do you feel that way? Any other reason?

18e. Now let me read you some statements which have been made about Catholics. For each, tell me if you think most Americans tend to agree or disagree with the statement. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Catholics tend to be narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma			
2. Catholics have a better attitude toward racial minorities than others			
3. Catholics tend to favor their own			
4. Catholics have suffered discrimination because of their religion			
5. Catholics are more prejudiced against racial minorities than others			
6. Catholics are deeply religious, which is good			
7. Catholics tend to drink too much			
8. Catholics have a good sense of humor			

FACTUAL (TO BE ASKED OF EVERYONE):

F1. What is your position in this organization?

F2. Does this position involve you with affirmative action programs a great deal, somewhat, or not at all?

Great deal
Somewhat
Not at all

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "D")
F3. Would you please look at this card and tell me the age category into which you fall. Just call off the letter next to the proper category.

A. 18 to 20.....(__(____-1
B. 21 to 24.....____-2
C. 25 to 29.....____-3
D. 30 to 34.....____-4
E. 35 to 39.....____-5
F. 40 to 49.....____-6
G. 50 to 64.....____-7
H. 65 and over.....____-8
Refused*.....____-9

* IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, ESTIMATE HIS/HER AGE RECORD FOR "REFUSED" AS WELL AS THE GROUP YOU ESTIMATE.

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "E")
F4. Would you please look at this card and tell me which letter represents the highest grade of school that you actually completed?

C. No formal schooling (0 years)....(__(____-1
D. First through 7th grade (1-7 years of school completed).....____-2
E. 8th grade (8 years of school completed).....____-3
F. Some high school (9-11 years of school completed).....____-4
G. High school graduate (12 years of school completed).....____-5
H. Some college (1-3 years of college completed).....____-6
I. Two year college graduate (completed 2 years community college, etc.).....____-7
J. Four year college graduate (completed 4 years of college).....____-8
K. Post graduate (4 year college graduate and completed at least 1 year of graduate school).....____-9
Refused.....____-0

F5. What is your religion or religious preference?

Protestant.....(__(____-1
Catholic.....____-2
Jewish.....____-3
Other (SPECIFY)

____ _____....____-4
None.....____-5
Not sure.....____-6

F6a. Regardless of how you vote, what do you usually consider yourself -- a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

Republican.....(__(____-1
Democrat.....____-2
Independent.....____-3
Other.....____-4
Not sure.....____-5

F6b. How would you describe your own personal political philosophy -- conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal, or radical?

Conservative.....(__(____-1
Middle-of-the-road....____-2
Liberal.....____-3
Radical.....____-4
Not sure.....____-5

RECORD THE FOLLOWING -- DO NOT ASK:

F7. Ethnic Group or Racial Background:

White.....(__(____-1
Black.....____-2
Oriental.....____-3
Spanish-American (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, etc.).....____-4
Other (SPECIFY)

_____....____-5
Not sure.....____-6

F8. Length of interview ("X" ONLY ONE):

15 minutes or less.....(__(____-1
16 minutes to 30 minutes.....____-2
31 minutes to 45 minutes.....____-3
46 minutes to 1 hour.....____-4
1 hr. 1 min. to 1 hr. 15 min.....____-5
1 hr. 16 min. to 1 hr. 30 min.....____-6
1 hr. 31 min. to 1 hr. 45 min.....____-7
1 hr. 46 min. to 2 hours.....____-8
2 hrs. 1 min. to 2 hrs. 15 min.....____-9
2 hrs. 16 min. to 2 hrs. 30 min.....____-0
2 hrs. 31 min. to 2 hrs. 45 min.....____-x
More than 2 hours 45 minutes.....____-y

Respondent's name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Respondent's organization/agency: _____

Address: _____

City/Town: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone Area Code: _____ Telephone No. _____

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

Interviewer's signature: _____

Date of interview: _____ Time (o'clock) of interview: _____

This interview validated by: _____ Date validated: _____

17g. Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think blacks are given special consideration and hired before whites for jobs frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never at all? (RECORD BELOW)

17h. How about in higher education institutions, that is, colleges and universities -- do you think blacks are given special consideration and admitted before whites in higher education institutions frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never at all? (RECORD BELOW)

	17g. In Jobs	17h. In Higher Education
Frequently	(47(____-1	(48(____-1
Occasionally	____-2	____-1
Hardly ever	____-3	____-3
Never at all	____-4	____-4
Not sure	____-5	____-5

18. A few years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court made a ruling which, in effect, said that it was entirely right for certain government agencies to create housing for blacks in the Chicago suburbs, rather than in the racially segregated public housing system in the city. Do you tend to agree or disagree with this decision of the U.S. Supreme Court?

Agree .....(49(____-1
Disagree .....____-2
Not sure .....____-3

19a. Compared to 5 years ago, is it your impression that the number of middle class blacks has greatly increased, somewhat increased, or hardly increased at all?

Greatly increased .....(50(____-1
Somewhat increased .....____-2
Hardly increased at all .....____-3
Not sure .....____-4

19b. Would you say that blacks who have made it to the middle class tend to lose sympathy with the conditions of other blacks or not?

Lose sympathy .....(51(____-1
Don't lose sympathy .....____-2
Not sure .....____-3

19c. If you had to say, would you describe yourself as upper middle class, middle class, or working class? (RECORD BELOW)

19d. Now, as far as you personally are concerned, would you like to be upper middle class, middle class, or working class? (RECORD BELOW)

	19c. Am Now	19d. Like To Be
Upper middle class	(52(____-1	(53(____-1
Middle class	____-2	____-2
Working class	____-3	____-3
Not sure	____-4	____-4

20a. How often do you go to church?

More than once a week	(54 (___ -1	
Once a week	___ -2	
2 or 3 times a month	___ -3	
Once a month	___ -4	
Less often	___ -5	
Never	___ -6	
Not sure/refused	___ -7	

20b. Do you feel deeply about religion, or isn't it that important to you?

Feel deeply	(55 (___ -1	
Isn't that important	___ -2	
Not sure	___ -3	

20c. What is your religion? What church do you attend?

Baptist	(56 (___ -1	(ASK 21a)
Methodist	___ -2	
Fundamentalist	___ -3	
Catholic	___ -4	
Jewish	___ -5	(SKIP TO 22a)
Other (SPECIFY)		
_____	___ -6	(ASK 21a)
No religion	___ -7	
Not sure/refused	___ -8	

(ASK 21a-c of ALL NON-JEWS PER 20c --- SKIP JEWS TO 22a)

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "G")

21a. On this card are some statements which have been made about Jews. As I read the number next to each statement, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ NUMBERS ONLY AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries	(58 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
2. Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive	(59 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
3. Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people	(60 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
4. Most of the slumlords are Jewish	(61 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
5. Jews have to work harder because they are discriminated against in so many places	(62 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
6. When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money	(63 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
7. The same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down	(64 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3
8. Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America	(65 (___ -1	___ -2	___ -3

21b. Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with Jewish people, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Jewish people?

A lot.....(66(____-1
Some but not a lot.....____-2
Hardly any.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

21c. All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Jewish people, or have you had troubles with them?

Pleasant and easy.....(67(____-1
Troubles with them.....____-2
Not sure.....____-3

(INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT IS CATHOLIC IN Q. 20c, SKIP TO 23a.)
(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "H")
22a. On this card are some statements which have been made about Catholics. As I read the number next to each statement, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure
1. Catholics tend to be narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma.....(68(	____-1	____-2	____-3
2. Catholics have a better attitude toward racial minorities than others.....(69(	____-1	____-2	____-3
3. Catholics tend to favor their own.....(70(	____-1	____-2	____-3
4. Catholics have suffered discrimination because of their religion.....(71(	____-1	____-2	____-3
5. Catholics are more prejudiced toward racial minorities than others.....(72(	____-1	____-2	____-3
6. Catholics are deeply religious.....(73(	____-1	____-2	____-3

22b. Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with Catholics, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Catholics?

A lot.....(74(____-1
Some but not a lot.....____-2
Hardly any.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

22c. All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Catholics, or have you had troubles with them?

Pleasant and easy.....(75(____-1
Troubles with them.....____-2
Not sure.....____-3

(ASK EVERYONE)

23a. Do you feel that anti-Jewish feeling is on the rise around here today, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

On the rise	(75(	-1
Diminishing		-2
About the same		-3
Not sure		-4

23b. In general, do you feel Jews around here are discriminated against, or not?

Discriminated against	(77(	-1
Not discriminated against		-2
Not sure		-3

23c. How about anti-Catholic feeling -- do you feel it is on the rise around here, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

On the rise	(78(	-1
Diminishing		-2
About the same		-3
Not sure		-4

23d. In general, do you feel Catholics around here are discriminated against, or not?

Discriminated against	(79(	-1
Not discriminated against		-2
Not sure		-3

24a. Did you vote in the presidential election of 1976 when Carter and Ford ran, or didn't you get around to voting then?

Voted	(80(	-1	(ASK 24b)
Didn't get around to voting		-2	(SKIP TO 24c)
Can't recall		-3	(SKIP TO 24c)

24b. Back in 1976, did you vote for Ford the Republican or Carter the Democrat for president?

Ford	(10(	-1
Carter		-2
Other (SPECIFY)		
_____		-3
Not sure		-4

(ASK EVERYONE)

24c. Regardless of how you may vote, what do you usually consider yourself -- a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican	(11(	-1
Democrat		-2
Independent		-3
Other (vol.)		-4
Not sure		-5

24d. Are you registered to vote now?

Registered	(12(	-1 (ASK 24e, f)
Not registered		-2 } (SKIP TO 24g)
Not sure		-3 }

24e. What are you registered as -- a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

Democrat	(13(	-1
Republican		-2
Other (vol.)		-3
Can't recall		-4

24f. When did you first register to vote?

In past year	(14(	-1
1-2 years ago		-2
3-4 years ago		-3
5-10 years ago		-4
Over 10 years ago		-5
Not sure		-6

(ASK EVERYONE)

24g. In the past, have you tried to register or vote but someone in authority kept you from registering or voting, or hasn't that happened to you?

Tried and kept from registering/voting	(15(	-1
Not happened		-2
Not sure		-3

FACTUAL (TO BE ASKED OF EVERYONE):

F1a. Is the main wage-earner of this household an hourly wage worker, salaried, or self-employed in his/her main job?

Hourly wage worker...(16(____-1
Salaried.....____-2
Self-employed.....____-3 } (ASK F1b)
Retired.....____-4
Unemployed.....____-5

None of the above:

Student.....____-6
Military service.....____-7
Housewife.....____-8 } (SKIP TO F2)
Disabled.....____-9
Other (SPECIFY)

_____..____-0

F1b. What type of work does (did, if retired) the main wage-earner do? (PROBE FULLY, FINDING OUT WHAT THE JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC., IN ORDER TO CATEGORIZE CORRECTLY BELOW)

Professional.....(17(____-1
Manager, official.....____-2
Proprietor (small business).....____-3
Clerical worker.....____-4
Sales worker.....____-5
Skilled craftsman, foreman.....____-6
Operative, unskilled laborer (except farm).....____-7
Service worker.....____-8
Farmer, farm manager, farm laborer..____-9
Other (SPECIFY)

_____...____-0

(ASK EVERYONE)
F2. Are you single, married, widowed, divorced or separated?

Single.....(18(____-1
Married.....____-2
Widowed.....____-3
Divorced.....____-4
Separated.....____-5

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "I")
F3. Would you please look at this card and tell me the age category into which you fall. Just call off the letter next to the proper category.

A. 18 to 20.....(19(____-1
B. 21 to 24.....____-2
C. 25 to 29.....____-3
D. 30 to 34.....____-4
E. 35 to 39.....____-5
F. 40 to 49.....____-6
G. 50 to 64.....____-7
H. 65 and over.....____-8
Refused*.....____-9

* IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, ESTIMATE HIS/HER AGE AND RECORD FOR "REFUSED" AS WELL AS THE GROUP YOU ESTIMATE.

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "J")
F4. Would you please look at this card and tell me which letter represents the highest grade of school that you actually completed?

C. No formal schooling (0 years)....(20(____-1
D. First through 7th grade (1-7 years of school completed).....____-2
E. 8th grade (8 years of school completed).....____-3
F. Some high school (9-11 years of school completed).....____-4
G. High school graduate (12 years of school completed).....____-5
H. Some college (1-3 years of college completed).....____-6
I. Two year college graduate (completed 2 years community college, etc.).....____-7
J. Four year college graduate (completed 4 years of college).....____-8
K. Post graduate (4 year college graduate and completed at least 1. year of graduate school).....____-9
Refused.....____-0

F5. Are you a member of a labor union, or is any other member of this household a member of a labor union? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Self is member.....(21(____-1
Other is member.....____-2
No union member in household.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "F")

F6. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total household income for 1977. Will you please look at this card and tell me which letter best represents all the money the members of this household either earned or received, before taxes, in 1977. This would include both earned income, such as wage and salary, and unearned income, such as welfare, pension, and income from stocks, bonds, real estate, bank accounts, business ventures, and other investments.

A.	Under $5,000..... (22	____-1
B.	$5,000 to $6,999.....	____-2
C.	$7,000 to $9,999.....	____-3
D.	$10,000 to $14,999.....	____-4
E.	$15,000 to $19,999.....	____-5
F.	$20,000 to $24,999.....	____-6
G.	$25,000 to $34,999.....	____-7
H.	$35,000 and over.....	____-8
	Not sure/refused*.....	____-9

* IF RESPONDENT "NOT SURE" OR "REFUSED," RECORD FOR "NOT SURE/REFUSED," AND RECORD FOR THE AMOUNT YOU ARE ESTIMATING.

RECORD THE FOLLOWING -- DO NOT ASK:

F7. Ethnic Group or Racial Background:

White..... (23	____-1
Black.....	____-2
Oriental.....	____-3
Spanish-American (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, etc.).....	____-4
Other (SPECIFY) _____ ...	____-5
Not sure.....	____-6

F8. Respondent is:

Male..... (24	____-1
Female.....	____-2

F9. Length of interview ("X" ONLY ONE):

15 minutes or less..... (25	____-1
16 minutes to 30 minutes.....	____-2
31 minutes to 45 minutes.....	____-3
46 minutes to 1 hour.....	____-4
1 hr. 1 min. to 1 hr. 15 min.....	____-5
1 hr. 16 min. to 1 hr. 30 min.....	____-6
1 hr. 31 min. to 1 hr. 45 min.....	____-7
1 hr. 46 min. to 2 hours.....	____-8
2 hrs. 1 min. to 2 hrs. 15 min.....	____-9
2 hrs. 16 min. to 2 hrs. 30 min.....	____-0
2 hrs. 31 min. to 2 hrs. 45 min.....	____-x
More than 2 hours 45 minutes.....	____-y

Interviewer's Signature: _____ Date: _____

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

This interview validated by: _____ **Date validated:** _____

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

INTERVIEWER EVALUATION:

MECHANICALS.....	1	2	3	4
OPEN ENDS.....	1	2	3	4
OVERALL.....	1	2	3	4

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10020

Study No. S2829-W

October 1978

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

Questionnaire No. 5-6-7-8-

Sample Point No. _____
10-11-12-13-14-

Interviewer's Name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

City/Town: _____ County: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

I'm from Louis Harris and Associates, the national public opinion research firm. We are doing a nationwide survey on attitudes toward various groups in the United States. We feel that these are extremely important issues, and would like to know what you and your neighbors really think about them. We've been asking some people in this community some questions, and now would like to ask someone in this household. (IF AGREEABLE:) First, let me see whom I'm to interview here.

HOW TO DETERMINE WHOM YOU ARE TO INTERVIEW IN THIS HOUSEHOLD:

- ASK: How many women/men 18 years or over live here and are at home now? _____ (WRITE IN)

1. If only one woman or man 18 years or over lives here, interview that person, provided your quota for that sex has not been completed.

2. If more than one woman or man 18 years or over lives here, list below all the women OR all the men — NOT BOTH — according to age, the oldest first, then starting at the bottom of the list, move upward until you come to the first "X" next to which you have entered a name (or described a position). The person next to this "X" is the only person you can interview.

- IF MORE THAN ONE WOMAN/MAN 18 YEARS OR OVER, ASK:

Who is the oldest woman/man who lives here and is at home now? And the next oldest? (STARTING WITH THE OLDEST, LIST (BY AGE) EITHER ALL OF THE WOMEN OR ALL OF THE MEN -- NOT BOTH — NOW AT HOME)

EITHER WOMEN OR MEN

Identify by name or position in the household
(Women — wife, mother, daughter, boarder, etc.)
(Men — husband, father, son, boarder, etc.)

		AGE
1.	X _____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____

Respondent's name (PLEASE PRINT): _____

Address: _____

City/Town: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone area code: _____ Telephone No. _____

Date of interview: _____ Time (o'clock) _____

1a. First, I'd like to ask you some questions about women and women's rights. Do you feel that in their (READ LIST), women are discriminated against or not around here? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

1b. Do you feel women are better off in their (READ LIST) than they were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as they were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	1a. Discriminated Against	1a. Not Discriminated Against	1a. Not Sure	1b. Better	1b. Worse	1b. Same	1b. Not Sure
1. Wages	(17(-1	-2	-3	(25(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Getting skilled labor jobs	(18(-1	-2	-3	(26(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Getting a quality education	(19(-1	-2	-3	(27(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. Getting promoted into managerial jobs	(20(-1	-2	-3	(28(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. Getting credit, loans and mortgages	(21(-1	-2	-3	(29(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. Getting into labor unions	(22(-1	-2	-3	(30(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. Job benefits such as pensions and health insurance	(23(-1	-2	-3	(31(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Being able to combine family and work if they need or want to	(24(-1	-2	-3	(32(-1	-2	-3	-4

1c. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you think things for most women are better, worse, or about the same?

Better.....(33(-1
Worse..... -2
About the same..... -3
Not sure..... -4

1d. There has been much talk about changing women's status in society. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?

Favor.....(34(-1
Oppose..... -2
Not sure..... -3

1e. Do you feel that women have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace in their efforts to strengthen and change their status in society?

Too fast.....(35(-1
Too slow..... -2
About the right pace..... -3
Not sure..... -4

2a. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about people of Spanish origin, those Spanish-Americans whose family origins are in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, and other Spanish-speaking countries. First, let me ask you about some specific areas of life around here. Tell me for each if you feel that Spanish-Americans are discriminated against or not in that area around here. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Discriminated Against	Not Discriminated Against	Not Sure
1. In getting a quality education	(36(___-1	___-2	___-3
2. In getting decent housing	(37(___-1	___-2	___-3
3. In getting unskilled labor jobs	(38(___-1	___-2	___-3
4. In getting skilled labor jobs	(39(___-1	___-2	___-3
5. In getting white collar jobs	(40(___-1	___-2	___-3
6. In getting promoted into managerial jobs	(41(___-1	___-2	___-3
7. In the way they are treated on welfare	(42(___-1	___-2	___-3
8. In getting into labor unions	(43(___-1	___-2	___-3
9. In the way they are treated by the local police	(44(___-1	___-2	___-3
10. In the wages they are paid	(45(___-1	___-2	___-3
11. In the way their children are treated by non-Spanish teachers	(46(___-1	___-2	___-3

2b. Do you consider yourself of Spanish origin, or not?

Of Spanish origin.....(47(___-1 (SKIP TO 3a)
Not of Spanish origin..... ___-2 (ASK 2c-e)
Refused/not sure..... ___-3 (SKIP TO 3a)

(ASK ALL NON-SPANISH AMERICANS -- SKIP SPANISH-AMERICANS TO 3a)
(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "A")

2c. On this card are some statements which have been made about Spanish-Americans as a group. As I read the number next to each statement, please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ NUMBERS ONLY AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Spanish-Americans have worked hard for a better life here	(48(___-1	___-2	___-3
2. Spanish-Americans don't try to learn English	(49(___-1	___-2	___-3
3. Spanish-Americans are deeply religious	(50(___-1	___-2	___-3
4. Spanish-Americans are highly emotional and are apt to fly off the handle	(51(___-1	___-2	___-3
5. Spanish-Americans have faced more discrimination in this country than other immigrant groups have	(52(___-1	___-2	___-3
6. Spanish-Americans want to live off the hand-out	(53(___-1	___-2	___-3

2d. Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with people of Spanish origin, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Spanish-Americans?

A lot.....(54(___-1 } (ASK 2e)
Some but not a lot..... ___-2 }
Hardly any..... ___-3 }
None (vol.)..... ___-4 (SKIP TO 3a)
Not sure..... ___-5 (ASK 2e)

2e. All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Spanish-Americans or have you had troubles with them?

Pleasant and easy.....(55(___-1
Troubles with them..... ___-2
Not sure..... ___-3

(ASK EVERYONE)

3a. I want to ask you about how you feel most black people in this country are doing now compared to ten years ago. As far as their (READ LIST) goes, do you feel they are better off today than they were ten years ago, worse off, or about the same as they were then? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

3b. Now thinking ahead to five years from now, do you feel in their (READ LIST), most black people will be better off, worse off, or about the same as they are right now? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	3a. Today				3b. In 5 Years			
	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure
1. Work situation	(56(-1	-2	-3	-4	(64(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Housing accommodations	(57(-1	-2	-3	-4	(65(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Pay	(58(-1	-2	-3	-4	(66(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. Being able to register and vote	(59(-1	-2	-3	-4	(67(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. Being able to get their children educated with white children if they want to	(60(-1	-2	-3	-4	(68(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. Being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if they want to	(61(-1	-2	-3	-4	(69(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. Transportation to and from work	(62(-1	-2	-3	-4	(70(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Getting the proper training and education to get a really good job	(63(-1	-2	-3	-4	(71(-1	-2	-3	-4

3c. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you think things for most black people are better, worse or about the same?

Better .....(72(-1
Worse.....-2
About the same .....-3
Not sure.....-4

3d. As far as you personally are concerned, what do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing black people that something should be done about? Anything else?

(73
(74
(75

3e. Do you feel blacks in this country have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace?

Too fast .....(76(-1
Too slow .....-2
About right .....-3
Not sure .....-4

4a. In what trades or fields do you think blacks are getting a better break these days as far as jobs go? Any others?

(10 ____
(11 ____
(12 ____

4b. Compared to ten years ago, do you feel blacks are getting a better break in jobs now, a worse break, or about the same now as ten years ago?

Better break	(13(___	-1
Worse break	___	-2
About the same	___	-3
Not sure	___	-4

5a. Do you feel that blacks live in as good housing as white people, or is their housing not as good?

As good housing	(14(___	-1
Not as good	___	-2
Not sure	___	-3

5b. Do you feel it would upset most people in this neighborhood a lot, some but not a lot, only a little, or not at all if blacks moved into this neighborhood? (RECORD BELOW)

5c. Would it upset you personally a lot, some but not a lot, only a little, or not at all if blacks moved into this neighborhood? (RECORD BELOW)

	5b. Most People		5c. You Personally	
A lot	(15(___	-1	(16(___	-1
Some, not a lot	___	-2	___	-2
Only a little	___	-3	___	-3
Not at all	___	-4	___	-4
Already in neighborhood (vol.)	___	-5	___	-5
Not sure	___	-6	___	-6

5d. Five years from now, do you think a lot more blacks will be living in white neighborhoods, some but not a lot more, only a few more, or no more than do now? (RECORD BELOW)

5e. How about in this neighborhood -- in five years, do you think a lot more blacks will be living around here, some but not a lot more, only a few more, or no more than do now? (RECORD BELOW)

	5d. In White Neighborhood	5e. In This Neighborhood
A lot more	(19(____-1	(20(____-1
Some, but not a lot more	____-2	____-2
Only a few more	____-3	____-3
No more than now	____-4	____-4
Not sure	____-5	____-5

6a. Do you feel that black children would do better or worse if they all went to school along with white children today?

Better	(22(____-1
Worse	____-2
About the same (vol.)	____-3
Not sure	____-4

6b. Would you like to see the children in your family go to school with black children or not?

Go with blacks	(23(____-1
Not go with blacks	____-2
Already do (vol.)	____-3
Makes no difference (vol.)	____-4
Not sure	____-5

6c. It's been said that if black children all went to school with white children, the education of white children would suffer. The reason given is that the black children would hold back the white children. Do you believe that or not?

Believe	(24(____-1
Don't believe	____-2
Not sure	____-3

6d. Five years from now, do you think right around here most black and white children will be going to school together, some but not a lot, or only a few will be going to school together?

Most	(25(____-1
Some, not a lot	____-2
Only a few	____-3
Not sure	____-4

6e. Of course, because of where they live today, many black children go to all-black schools and whites to all-white schools. Would you like to see children in your family be picked up in buses every day so they could go to another part of town to go to school with black children or would that be too hard on the children?

Picked up by bus	(26(____-1
Too hard on children	____-2
Not sure	____-3

6f. Have any of the children in your family been picked up by bus to go to a school with black children, or hasn't that happened?

Been picked up by bus	(27 ____-1	(ASK 6g,h)
Not happened	____-2	(SKIP TO 6i)
No children in school (vol.)	____-3	
Go to private schools (vol.)	____-4	
Not sure	____-5	

6g. How did the busing of children in your family to go to school with black children work out -- very satisfactory, partly satisfactory, or not satisfactory?

Very satisfactory	(28 ____-1	(ASK 6h)
Partly satisfactory	____-2	
Not satisfactory	____-3	
Not sure	____-4	(SKIP TO 6i)

6h. Why do you feel the busing of children in your family was (RESPONSE IN 6g)? Any other reasons?

(29 ____
(30 ____
(31 ____

(ASK EVERYONE)

6i. All in all, do you feel black children around here are receiving a better education than white children, as good an education as white children get, or are they getting not as good an education?

A better education	(32 ____-1
As good an education	____-2
Not as good an education	____-3
Not sure	____-4

7a. Compared to unemployment among white people around here, do you think that unemployment among black people is very much greater, somewhat greater, just about the same, or less?

Very much greater	(33 ____-1
Somewhat greater	____-2
Just about the same	____-3
Less	____-4
Not sure	____-5

7b. All in all, compared to ten years ago, do you feel that unemployment among black youths, 17 to 21 years of age has become more of a problem, less of a problem, or remains as much of a problem as it was?

More of a problem	(34 ____-1
Less of a problem	____-2
As much of a problem	____-3
Not sure	____-4

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "B")

7a. Do you feel that the major responsibility for solving unemployment among blacks and other minorities should fall with the federal government, with state government, with local government, with private business, with the white community in general, or with the black community? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Federal government	(35	-1
State government		-2
Local government		-3
Private business		-4
White community in general		-5
Black community		-6
All (vol.)		-7
None (vol.)		-8
Not sure		-9

8a. Thinking back, do you feel that when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House, the federal government at that time could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

8b. How about under Presidents Nixon and Ford -- do you feel the federal government at that time could be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

8c. Now how about today under President Carter -- do you think the federal government can be depended on to help blacks a great deal, some but not a lot, or not much at all? (RECORD BELOW)

	8a. Under Kennedy/ Johnson		8b. Under Nixon/ Ford		8c. Under Carter	
A great deal	(40	-1	(41	-1	(42	-1
Some but not a lot		-2		-2		-2
Not much at all		-3		-3		-3
Not sure		-4		-4		-4

8d. Now let me read you some statements. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. The Democrats usually can be trusted to help blacks, while Republicans don't care much.....(43	____-1	____-2	____-3
2. It makes no difference whether Democrats or Republicans are elected, because blacks will always get the short end of the stick.....(44	____-1	____-2	____-3
3. Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change.....(45	____-1	____-2	____-3
4. With white prejudice on the rise again, all the blacks can do is try to hold on to what gains they have won.....(46	____-1	____-2	____-3
5. The only time blacks make real progress is when they hold public protests and non-violent demonstrations.....(47	____-1	____-2	____-3
6. The only way now that whites will really pay attention to black problems will be when blacks resort to violent demonstrations, even rioting in the streets.....(48	____-1	____-2	____-3

8e. Now suppose for President in the next election in 1980, you found a candidate whose views you agreed with completely on how he would handle inflation, jobs and the economy. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on race relations and issues such as busing or jobs for blacks that you disagreed with completely. Would that make you certainly not vote for that candidate, probably not vote for that candidate, or could you still vote for him?

Certainly not vote for him.....(49 ____-1
Probably not vote for him.....____-2
Could still vote for him.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

8f. How possible do you feel it would be to have a black candidate running for President of the United States in the next 10 years -- very possible, somewhat possible, hardly possible, or not at all possible?

Very possible.....(50 ____-1
Somewhat possible.....____-2
Hardly possible.....____-3
Not at all possible.....____-4
Not sure.....____-5

8g. If a fully qualified black whose views were acceptable to you were nominated to run for President, how likely do you think you would be to vote for that candidate -- very likely, somewhat likely, hardly likely, or not at all likely?

Very likely.....51 (____-1
Somewhat likely.....____-2
Hardly likely.....____-3
Not at all likely.....____-4
Not sure.....____-5

8h. Do you personally feel that having a black President of the United States would be excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor for (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Ex-cellent	Pretty Good	Only Fair	Poor	No Effect (vol.)	Not Sure
1. Race relations here in the United States	(52(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
2. Relations with non-white countries abroad	(53(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
3. Relations with our traditional allies abroad	(54(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
4. Inflation	(55(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
5. Unemployment	(56(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
6. The country as a whole	(57(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "C")

9a. Now for each of the following groups and organizations, would you tell me if you feel it has been really interested in seeing blacks achieve full equality in the U.S., has been indifferent to black equality, or has tried to prevent blacks from achieving full equality. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Really Interested	Indifferent	Tried to Prevent	Not Sure
1. Large corporations	(58(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. Newspapers	(59(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Television	(60(-1	-2	-3	-4
4. The U.S. Congress	(61(-1	-2	-3	-4
5. The U.S. Supreme Court	(62(-1	-2	-3	-4
6. The federal government	(63(-1	-2	-3	-4
7. State government	(64(-1	-2	-3	-4
8. Local government	(65(-1	-2	-3	-4
9. Local real estate companies	(66(-1	-2	-3	-4
10. White Protestant churches	(67(-1	-2	-3	-4
11. Local police	(68(-1	-2	-3	-4
12. Small local companies	(69(-1	-2	-3	-4
13. Professional schools (law, medicine, etc.)	(70(-1	-2	-3	-4
14. Universities and colleges	(71(-1	-2	-3	-4
15. The U.S. Army	(72(-1	-2	-3	-4
16. The Catholic Church	(73(-1	-2	-3	-4
17. Jewish groups	(74(-1	-2	-3	-4
18. Banks	(75(-1	-2	-3	-4
19. Labor unions	(76(-1	-2	-3	-4
20. Interfaith organizations (such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews)	(77(-1	-2	-3	-4

9b. Do you feel that interfaith organizations made up of leaders of different churches and religious faiths, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, do an excellent, a pretty good, an only fair, or a poor job of helping to fight racial and religious prejudice?

Excellent .....(78(____-1
Pretty good .....____-2
Only fair .....____-3
Poor .....____-4
Not sure .....____-5

10a. Generally speaking, do you favor full racial integration, integration in some areas of life, or separation of the races?

Full racial integration.....(79(____-1
Integration in some areas.....____-2
Separation of races.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "D")

10b. On this card are some possible situations that might occur. As I read the number next to each item, please tell me, as far as your personal feelings go, whether you would be personally concerned or not if that situation happened. (READ NUMBERS ONLY AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Concerned	Not Concerned	Not Sure
1. A black sits down next to you at a lunch counter.....(10	____-1	____-2	____-3
2. A black uses the same public restroom as you.....(11	____-1	____-2	____-3
3. A black sits next to you on a bus.....(12	____-1	____-2	____-3
4. A black tries on the same suit of clothes (dress) before you do in a clothing store.....(13	____-1	____-2	____-3
5. Your child brings a black child home for supper.....(14	____-1	____-2	____-3
6. Your teenage child dates a black.....(15	____-1	____-2	____-3
7. A black family moves in next door to you.....(16	____-1	____-2	____-3
8. A close friend or relative marries a black.....(17	____-1	____-2	____-3
9. A black teacher teaches your child in school.....(18	____-1	____-2	____-3
10. A black person is your supervisor at work.....(19	____-1	____-2	____-3

11. Do you feel that the black civil rights leaders and organizations are ahead of their people, behind their people, or right with them?

Ahead.....(20(____-1
Behind.....____-2
Right with them.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

12. In the long run, how effective do you feel each of the following kinds of black leaders will be in helping blacks achieve equality in this country -- very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective at all? (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not At All	Not Sure
1. Civil rights leaders like those in the NAACP or Urban League	(21 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
2. Elected black officials like Congressmen, Senators and Mayors	(22 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
3. Leaders of black militant groups	(23 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
4. Black ministers and religious leaders	(24 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
5. Black political party leaders	(25 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
6. Black businessmen	(26 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
7. Black professionals such as doctors and lawyers	(27 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
8. Black sports stars and entertainers	(28 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4

13. Now I want to read you some things people have told us they have felt from time to time. Do you tend to feel or not that (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Feel	Don't Feel	Not Sure
1. The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	(29 ___-1	___-2	___-3
2. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	(30 ___-1	___-2	___-3
3. What you think doesn't count very much anymore	(31 ___-1	___-2	___-3
4. You are left out of things going on around you	(32 ___-1	___-2	___-3
5. Most people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself	(33 ___-1	___-2	___-3
6. Few people understand how it is to live like you live	(34 ___-1	___-2	___-3

INTERVIEWER: TURN QUESTIONNAIRE OVER AND CONTINUE.

14a. Let me ask you about some specific areas of life around here. Tell me for each if you feel blacks are discriminated against or not in that area around here. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Discriminated	Not Discriminated	Not Sure
1. In getting a quality education	(35 ____-1	____-2	____-3
2. In getting decent housing.....	(36 ____-1	____-2	____-3
3. In getting unskilled labor jobs	(37 ____-1	____-2	____-3
4. In getting skilled labor jobs.....	(38 ____-1	____-2	____-3
5. In getting white collar jobs.....	(39 ____-1	____-2	____-3
6. In getting promoted into managerial jobs	(40 ____-1	____-2	____-3
7. In the way they are treated on welfare	(41 ____-1	____-2	____-3
8. In getting into labor unions	(42 ____-1	____-2	____-3
9. In the way they are treated by the local police	(43 ____-1	____-2	____-3
10. In the wages they are paid.....	(44 ____-1	____-2	____-3
11. In the way their children are treated by white teachers	(45 ____-1	____-2	____-3

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "E")

14b. Now let me ask you some questions about blacks as people, leaving aside the whole question of civil rights and laws. I'd like to know how you feel as an individual. On this card are some statements people sometimes make about black people. As I read the number next to each statement, please tell me whether you personally tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ NUMBERS ONLY AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. Blacks tend to have less ambition than whites.....	(46 ____-1	____-2	____-3
2. Blacks care less for the family than whites.....	(47 ____-1	____-2	____-3
3. Blacks breed crime.....	(48 ____-1	____-2	____-3
4. Blacks have less native intelligence than whites.....	(49 ____-1	____-2	____-3
5. Blacks want to live off the handout.....	(50 ____-1	____-2	____-3
6. Blacks are inferior to white people.....	(51 ____-1	____-2	____-3
7. Blacks are more violent than whites.....	(52 ____-1	____-2	____-3

15a. Do you or does any member of your immediate family now have contact or not with a black person who is (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

15b. (FOR EACH "HAVE" ITEM IN 15a) Do you feel that the relationship with this black who is ("have" item) is generally pleasant and easy, or is there sometimes trouble due to the difference in race? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH APPLICABLE ITEM)

	15a.			15b.		
	Have	Not Have	Not Sure	Pleasant And Easy	Sometimes Trouble	Not Sure
1. An employer or supervisor at work	(53 ___-1	___-2	___-3	64 (___-1	___-2	___-3
2. A co-worker at work	(54 ___-1	___-2	___-3	65 (___-1	___-2	___-3
3. A teacher or principal in a school	(55 ___-1	___-2	___-3	66 (___-1	___-2	___-3
4. A welfare social worker serving you	(56 ___-1	___-2	___-3	67 (___-1	___-2	___-3
5. A neighbor	(57 ___-1	___-2	___-3	68 (___-1	___-2	___-3
6. The owner or manager of a retail store	(58 ___-1	___-2	___-3	69 (___-1	___-2	___-3
7. A salesperson in a local store	(59 ___-1	___-2	___-3	70 (___-1	___-2	___-3
8. A friend socially	(60 ___-1	___-2	___-3	71 (___-1	___-2	___-3
9. An officer of a union	(61 ___-1	___-2	___-3	72 (___-1	___-2	___-3
10. Someone working for you	(62 ___-1	___-2	___-3	73 (___-1	___-2	___-3
11. A policeman in the neighborhood	(63 ___-1	___-2	___-3	74 (___-1	___-2	___-3

(ASK EVERYONE)

15c. Is there any black person whom you can really call a close friend, or isn't there one?

Is ..... (75 (___-1
Is not ..... ___-2
Not sure ..... ___-3

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "F")

16. People disagree about why there are differences between blacks and whites. Which one statement on this card comes closest to what you think? (SINGLE RECORD)

1. Most differences are there because they're born different ..... (76 (___-1
2. Most differences come from the way they are brought up at home ..... ___-2
3. Most differences come from the different economic and educational opportunities they have in America ..... ___-3
4. Most differences come from the amount of money they make ..... ___-4

Not sure ..... ___-5

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about affirmative action, or programs that are meant to correct the present effects of past discrimination against certain groups.

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "G") (READ COMPLETE QUESTION TO RESPONDENT)

17a. Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision in the Bakke (BAA-KEE) case. A white man, Alan Bakke, claimed that he was refused admission to a University of California medical school because the school automatically set aside 16 out of 100 places in the freshman class for non-whites, even if on their tests the non-whites scored below whites who applied. The Supreme Court decided that Bakke had been the victim of reverse discrimination and should be admitted to the medical school. The Court also decided that such rigid quotas as setting aside 16 out of 100 places for non-whites are not proper or legal. At the same time, the Court made clear that students from less advantaged races may be given special consideration on racial grounds. In effect, then, the Supreme Court decided that strict quotas are out, and affirmative action could be used to make up for past discrimination against racial minorities. All in all, do you personally favor or oppose this U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Bakke case?

Favor .....(15(____-1
Oppose.....____-2
Not sure .....____-3

17b. If racial quotas will not be allowed by the courts, do you agree that (READ LIST), or do you disagree with that? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. In business and education, without set quotas there will be a slowing down in the hiring of blacks and other minorities....	(16(___-1	____-2	____-3
2. With the quota controversy settled, now business and education will concentrate on helping blacks and other minorities to adjust better and become more productive.....	(17(___-1	____-2	____-3
3. Unless quotas are used, blacks and other minorities just won't get a fair shake.....	(18(___-1	____-2	____-3
4. With quotas out of the way, the courts will now lay down the ground rules for seeing to it that blacks and other minorities really have opportunities opened up to them.	(19(___-1	____-2	____-3

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "H") (READ COMPLETE QUESTION TO RESPONDENT)

17c. Another recent U.S. Supreme Court action concerned an affirmative action program in AT&T involving minorities and women who work for the telephone company. The union at AT&T charged that by giving special training and promotions to minorities and women, white men are victims of reverse discrimination and their seniority rights under the union contract are being violated. The U.S. Supreme Court decided not to review the union's claim of reverse discrimination for white men on promotions, upholding the company's affirmative action program for minorities and women. Do you personally favor or oppose this U.S. Supreme Court decision in the AT&T affirmative action case?

Favor .....(21(____-1
Oppose .....____-2
Not sure .....____-3

17d. Now let me read you some statements about affirmative action programs in education and employment. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree. (READ STATEMENTS AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education ... (26	___-1	___-2	___-3
2. Minorities and women have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit ... (27	___-1	___-2	___-3
3. As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they can perform better on the job ... (28	___-1	___-2	___-3
4. Once affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against white men ... (29	___-1	___-2	___-3
5. If there are no affirmative action programs helping women and minorities in employment and education, then these groups will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future ... (30	___-1	___-2	___-3
6. White men learn faster, are better qualified, and will continue to hold down the better jobs, no matter how many affirmative action programs for women and minorities are started ... (31	___-1	___-2	___-3

17e. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in industry for (READ LIST) provided there are no rigid quotas? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM) (IF FAVOR QUOTAS, RECORD AS "FAVOR")

17f. Do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs in higher education for (READ LIST), provided there are no rigid quotas? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM) (IF FAVOR QUOTAS, RECORD AS "FAVOR")

	17e. Industry				17f. Higher Education			
	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol.)	Not Sure	Favor	Oppose	Not Needed (vol.)	Not Sure
1. Women ...	(32 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(39 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
2. The physically handicapped ...	(33 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(40 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
3. Spanish-Americans ...	(34 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(41 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
4. Catholics ...	(35 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(42 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
5. Jews ...	(36 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(43 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
6. Vietnam veterans ...	(37 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(44 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4
7. Blacks ...	(38 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	(45 ___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4

17g. Would you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for non-whites if not having them meant that civil rights for blacks and other minorities would be set back?

Favor ... (46 ___-1
Oppose ... ___-2
Not sure ... ___-3

17h. Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think blacks are given special consideration and hired before whites for jobs frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never at all? (RECORD BELOW)

17i. How about in higher education institutions, that is, colleges and universities -- do you think blacks are given special consideration and admitted before whites in higher education institutions frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never at all? (RECORD BELOW)

	17h. In Jobs	17i. In Higher Education
Frequently	47 (____-1	48 (____-1
Occasionally	____-2	____-2
Hardly ever	____-3	____-3
Never at all	____-4	____-4
Not sure	____-5	____-5

18. A few years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court made a ruling which, in effect, said that it was entirely right for certain government agencies to create housing for blacks in the Chicago suburbs, rather than in the racially segregated public housing system in the city. Do you tend to agree or disagree with this decision of the U.S. Supreme Court?

Agree	49 (____-1
Disagree	____-2
Not sure	____-3

19a. Compared to 5 years ago, is it your impression that the number of middle class blacks has greatly increased, somewhat increased, or hardly increased at all?

Greatly increased	50 (____-1
Somewhat increased	____-2
Hardly increased at all	____-3
Not sure	____-4

19b. Would you say that blacks who have made it to the middle class tend to lose sympathy with the conditions of other blacks or not?

Lose sympathy	51	-1
Don't lose sympathy	____	-2
Not sure	____	-3

19c. If you had to say, would you describe yourself as upper middle class, middle class, or working class? (RECORD BELOW)

19d. Now, as far as you personally are concerned, would you like to be upper middle class, middle class, or working class? (RECORD BELOW)

	19c. Am Now		19d. Like To Be	
Upper middle class	52	-1	53	-1
Middle class	____	-2	____	-2
Working class	____	-3	____	-3
Not sure	____	-4	____	-4

20a. How often do you go to church?

More than once a week	54	-1
Once a week	____	-2
2 or 3 times a month	____	-3
Once a month	____	-4
Less often	____	-5
Never	____	-6
Not sure/refused	____	-7

20b. Do you feel deeply about religion, or isn't it that important to you?

Feel deeply	55	-1
Isn't that important	____	-2
Not sure	____	-3

20c. What is your religion? What church do you attend?

Protestant	56	-1	(ASK 21a)
Catholic	____	-2	(ASK 21a)
Jewish	____	-3	(SKIP TO 22a)
Other (specify) _____	____	-4	(ASK 21a)
None	____	-5	(ASK 21a)
Not sure/refused	____	-6	(ASK 21a)

(ASK 21a-21c OF ALL NON-JEWS PER 20c -- SKIP JEWS TO 22a) (HAND RESPONDENT CARD "I")

21a. On this card are some statements which have been made about Jews. As I read the number next to each statement, please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ NUMBERS ONLY AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

		Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure
1.	Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries	(58) ___-1	___-2	___-3
2.	Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive	(59) ___-1	___-2	___-3
3.	Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people	(60) ___-1	___-2	___-3
4.	Most of the slumlords are Jewish	(61) ___-1	___-2	___-3
5.	Jews have to work harder because they are discriminated against in so many places	(62) ___-1	___-2	___-3
6.	When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money	(63) ___-1	___-2	___-3
7.	The same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down	(64) ___-1	___-2	___-3
8.	Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America	(65) ___-1	___-2	___-3

21b. Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with Jewish people, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Jewish people?

A lot.....(66) ___-1
Some but not a lot.....___-2
Hardly any.....___-3
Not sure.....___-4

21c. All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Jewish people, or have you had troubles with them?

Pleasant and easy.....(67) ___-1
Troubles with them .....___-2
Not sure.....___-3

(INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT IS CATHOLIC IN Q. 20c, SKIP TO 23a)
(HAND RESPONDENT CARD "J")

22a. On this card are some statements which have been made about Catholics. As I read the number next to each statement, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with that statement. (READ NUMBERS ONLY AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH)

		Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure
1.	Catholics tend to be narrow-minded, under the influence of church dogma	(68 ___-1	___-2	___-3
2.	Catholics have a better attitude toward racial minorities than others	(69 ___-1	___-2	___-3
3.	Catholics tend to favor their own	(70 ___-1	___-2	___-3
4.	Catholics have suffered discrimination because of their religion	(71 ___-1	___-2	___-3
5.	Catholics are more prejudiced against racial minorities than others	(72 ___-1	___-2	___-3
6.	Catholics are deeply religious	(73 ___-1	___-2	___-3

22b. Would you say in your everyday life you have a lot of contact with Catholics, some but not a lot, or hardly any contact with Catholics?

A lot.....(74 ___-1
Some but not a lot.....___-2
Hardly any.....___-3
Not sure.....___-4

22c. All in all, do you feel you have had a pleasant and easy relationship with Catholics, or have you had troubles with them?

Pleasant and easy .....(75 ___-1
Troubles with them .....___-2
Not sure.....___-3

(ASK EVERYONE)

23a. Do you feel that anti-Jewish feeling is on the rise around here today, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?

On the rise .....(76 ___-1
Diminishing .....___-2
About the same .....___-3
Not sure .....___-4